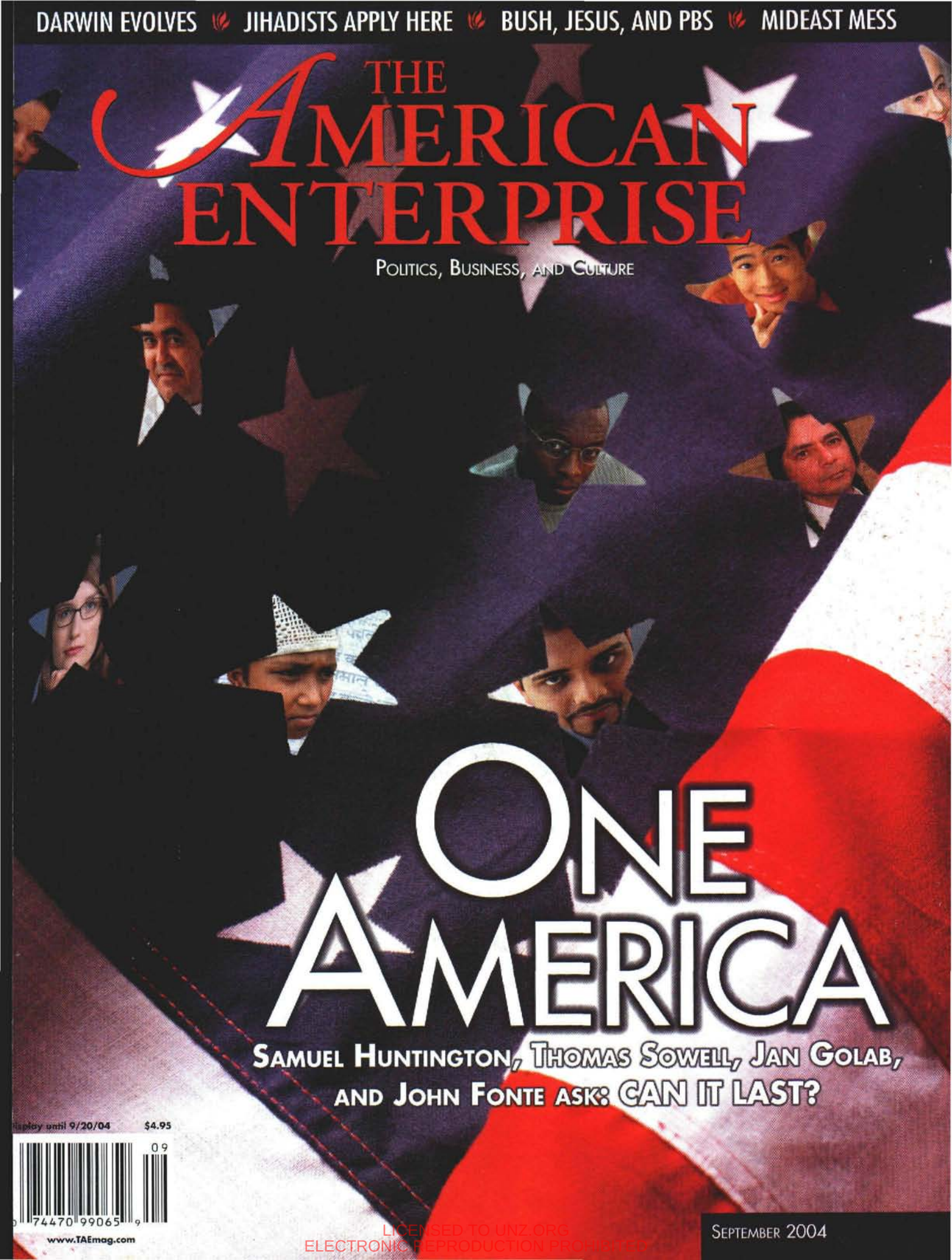
DARWIN EVOLVES | JIHADISTS APPLY HERE | BUSH, JESUS, AND PBS | MIDEAST MESS

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE



ONE AMERICA

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, THOMAS SOWELL, JAN GOLAB, AND JOHN FONTE ASK: CAN IT LAST?

isplay until 9/20/04 $4.95

09

74470 99065 9

www.TAEmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEPTEMBER 2004

IF IT'S IMPORTANT, IT'S ON . . .

Think TANK

With BEN WATTENBERG

Remembering Daniel Patrick Moynihan

"Thanks for re-airing the Moynihan interview. It is good to be reminded that some congressmen used to uphold a firm standard of quality and integrity quite apart from any partisan leanings they may have.

I just wanted to thank you for showing the wonderful interview with Daniel Patrick Moynihan. I have long respected his research and his mind, if not always his political choices, and I was delighted that you ran the program.

I have just discovered your program **THINK TANK.** I find it most challenging and interesting. Thanks for a thoughtful program.

I decided to watch the Sen. Moynihan interview because of my regard for his statesmanship. I was extremely pleased with the Moynihan interview because of its historical perspective of the social ramifications of public policy.

I feel that discourses with late Sen. Moynihan can only bring a wider range of thinking for the viewing public. Please play more of his interviews and exchanges on prime time for our society needs to hear some views that are not just the latest fad concerning our bodies or our politics of the moment.

I really liked Sen. Moynihan and miss his insights and candor.

I've watched and listened to your program for many years now, and find it to be most insightful and informative."

PBS

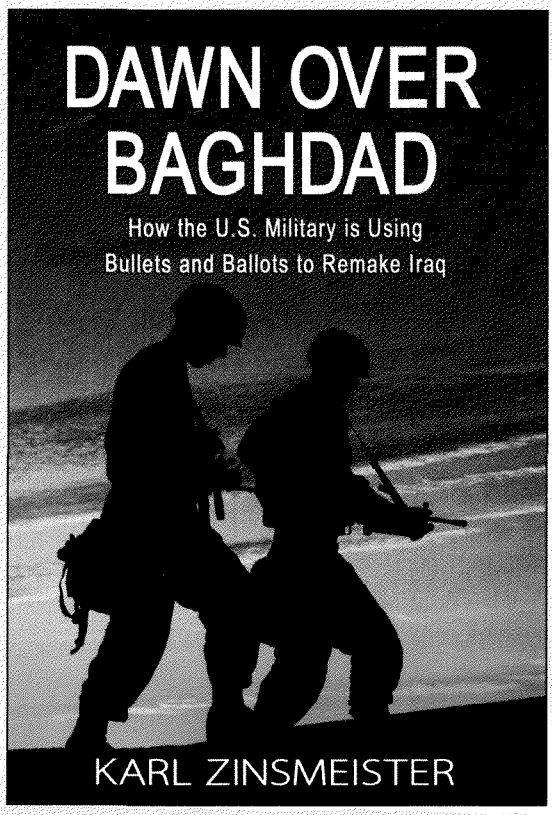
THINK TANK: THE PBS PROGRAM ON IDEAS

Pfizer

Support for **THINK TANK** is provided by Pfizer Inc., the Smith Richardson Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, and the Bernard & Irene Schwartz Foundation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Maybe you're satisfied



…with major media coverage of the war in Iraq

BUT IF...

…you're hungry for fairer, more accurate perspective on the linchpin issue of this year's Presidential election and the most dangerous challenge now facing America

THEN...

…this book—the only one presenting the other side of the story on Iraq—is MUST reading.

Dawn Over Baghdad: How the U.S. Military is Using Bullets and Ballots to Remake Iraq takes a fresh, eyewitness look at today's guerilla struggle. It is built on extended embedded reporting straight from the most treacherous parts of the Sunni Triangle in early 2004, careful historical research, face-to-face polling of Iraqis, and unmatched observation of combat raids, interrogations, daily diplomacy, and reconstruction heroics.

This is a powerful, fair, original, and extremely timely report on America's most urgent national struggle, as seen through the eyes of ordinary Iraqis and the U.S. servicemen doing today's most difficult work.

This book includes 32 pages of striking, color documentary photographs.

Don't swallow the political orthodoxy and one-sided reporting. The biggest issue in the 2004 election is now clear: "It's the war, stupid." Make up your own mind!

— Available in July at bookstores everywhere —

Or order directly from *The American Enterprise* for immediate delivery for $20 (retail price is $25.95) with FREE shipping!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

SEPTEMBER 2004 VOL. 15, NO. 6

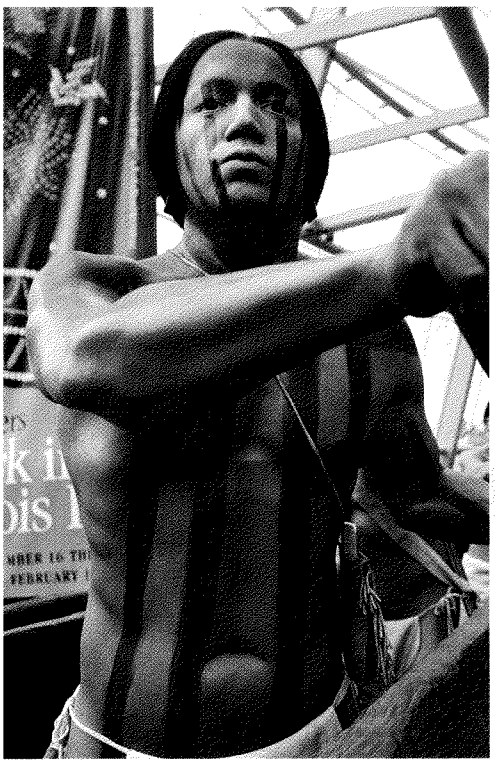
4 BIRD'S EYE ◆ *John Fonte*
How to make an American.

6 SIDELIGHTS
Memories of Ronald Reagan...and Bill Clinton. John Kerry's fawning press. Veg Eye for the Fat Guy. Moral morass.

8 SCAN ◆ Short news and commentary
Al-Qaeda job application. A genuine hero. Cities need religion. Honoring Reagan. The real Iraqi abuse scandal. No-Character Kerry. Can India be great?

13 INDICATORS ◆ Numbers, etc.
America has a higher GDP, better standard of living, and fairer taxes than Europe.

14 "LIVE" WITH *TAE*
Not many academics become influential both as a scholarly theorizer and as a popular writer. Thomas Sowell has done both, and in the process pioneered a niche once thought to be an oxymoron: the black conservative thinker.



PAGE 26

ONE AMERICA

20 ONE NATION, OUT OF MANY
Samuel Huntington
Why "Americanization" of newcomers still matters.

26 THE FESTERING PROBLEM OF INDIAN "SOVEREIGNTY"
Jan Golab
The Supreme Court ducks. Congress sleeps. Indians rule.

32 SO WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE REST OF THE MIDDLE EAST?
A survey of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, and Libya. *Hume Horan* on Saudi exceptionalism. *Daniel Kennelly* reveals an Iranian house divided. *Simon Henderson* rides the roller coaster with General Musharraf. *Karina Rollins* asks if Qaddafi has been born again. With sidebars by *Thomas Barnett.*

40 FACT, FABLE, AND DARWIN
Rodney Stark digs up the truth on the fossil record, biology, and Charles Darwin's theories. With a sidebar by physicist *Freeman Dyson.*

Cover photo: PictureQuest, Newscom, Getty Images

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

46 IN REAL LIFE ◆ First-person America
Her father's daughter.

47 FLASHBACK ◆ *Bill Kauffman*
The prophet who ran for President.

48 BEAT THE PRESS ◆ *Chris Weinkopf*
The media's fear of God.

49 NOW PLAYING ◆ *Josh Larsen*
Politics and paranoia in *The Manchurian Candidate*.

50 FORWARD OBSERVER ◆ *James Glassman*
Sex, Religion, and AIDS

51 POLITICO ◆ *Grover Norquist*
Enter the trial lawyers.

52 THE ECONOMIST
Betsy McCaughey exposes the doctoring of health care data.

53 ENTERPRISING ◆ Business as an act of creation
Lending money to poor people in the Third World is important but tricky, notes *Mark Hemingway*.

54 BOOKTALK
- ◆ Vincent Phillip Muñoz—*Gay Marriage: Why It Is Good for Gays, Good for Straights, and Good for America* by Jonathan Rauch
- ◆ Brendan Conway—*The Outlaw Sea: A World of Freedom, Chaos, and Crime* by William Langewiesche
- ◆ Theron Westervelt—*Eugene McCarthy: The Rise and Fall of Postwar American Liberalism* by Dominic Sandbrook

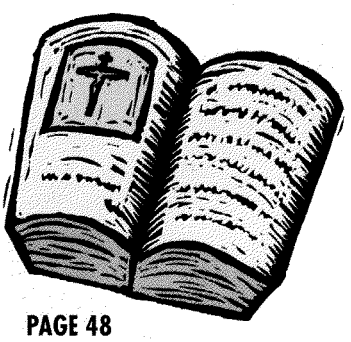
57 THE DIGEST ◆ Summaries of important research
Atari Democrat. Tax troubles ahead. Why college costs so much. A new look at national security. A homeland mess. China destined for an economic hard landing.

60 OPINION PULSE ◆ The latest survey data
A closely divided electorate. Schoolhouse discipline. Religion and politics.

63 THE MAIL

64 LAST GASP

PAGE 40



PAGE 48

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

September 2004 Vol. 15, No. 6

Publisher Christopher DeMuth
Editor in Chief Karl Zinsmeister
Senior Editors Daniel Kennelly
Karina Rollins
Associate Editors Brandon Bosworth
Bill Kauffman
Eli Lehrer
Opinion Pulse Editor Karlyn Bowman
Art Director Jo Roback-Pal
Graphic Designers Jeanne Berger
Laurie Selleck
Proofreaders David Brandt
Adam Sommers
Interns Justin Ash
Nancy Kennedy
Mary Rybak
Marketing Director Ann Zinsmeister
Business Manager Garth Cadiz
Chief of Operations David Gerson
Contributing Writers James Glassman, Blake Hurst, Joel Kotkin, Philip Langdon, Daniel Lapin, Josh Larsen, Catesby Leigh, Michael Medved, Deroy Murdock, Grover Norquist, Ralph Reiland, Naomi Riley, Frederick Turner, Scott Walter, Chris Weinkopf

Web Site
www.TAEmag.com

Letters to the Editor
"The Mail," The American Enterprise,
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036,
or fax (202) 862-5867, or e-mail TAE@aei.org

Main Editorial and Production Office
The American Enterprise
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 862-5887, or e-mail TAE@aei.org

Office of the Editor in Chief
The American Enterprise
23 Hurd Street, Cazenovia, N.Y. 13035
(315) 655-1033

Press Inquiries
(315) 655-3893 or TAEmedia@alltel.net

Manuscripts
The editors welcome article submissions.
Send to TAE@aei.org or "Submissions" at our
Washington, D.C. mailing address.

Back Issues
Buy at TAEmag.com (click Back Issues tab).
Or send $7 per copy to The American Enterprise,
109 Briarcliffe Road, Dewitt, N.Y. 13214

Subscriptions
New or Problems: (888) 295-9007. $28 for one year.
(Available for U.S. and Canada delivery only.)

Postmaster: Send all subscription correspondence and address changes to The American Enterprise, P.O. Box 6074, Duluth, MN 55806-6074. ISSN 1047-3572. Published eight times per year (J/F, M, A/M, J, J/A, S, O/N, D) by the American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices. Copyright © 2004, the American Enterprise Institute. All rights reserved.

Bird's Eye

How To Make an American

By John Fonte

Browsing through my grandmother's citizenship textbook from the 1930s one day, I found Lesson 61 on the Americanization policies of Theodore Roosevelt:

> [Roosevelt] loved America above all else and his last public message was a plea for the "complete Americanization" of our people in which he said: "…[if] the immigrant who comes here in good faith becomes an American and assimilates himself to us, he shall be treated on an exact equality with everyone else, for it is an outrage to discriminate against any such man because of creed, or birthplace, or origin. But this is predicated upon the man's becoming an American, and nothing but an American. There can be no divided allegiance here. We have room for but one soul (sic) loyalty and that is loyalty to the American people."

The textbook captured the spirit of Americanization—that immigrants are expected to assimilate patriotically and become loyal Americans. More than one hundred years earlier George Washington had written to John Adams that he envisioned immigrants "assimilated to our customs, measures, and laws," and because of this, Washington declared, native-born citizens and immigrants would "soon become one people."

This sentiment is roughly the view of the majority of Americans today, but clearly not the opinion of many American elites. As Samuel Huntington argues in this issue (see page 20), elites in government, business, education, academia, and the media have for decades been actively involved in efforts to "deconstruct" the American nation and its traditional concepts of assimilation and citizenship.

Huntington explains in his new book, *Who Are We?*, that arguments over multiculturalism, bilingualism, ethnic and gender group preferences, dual citizenship, history standards, transnationalism—and immigration and assimilation—are all part of the same conflict over the nature of the American liberal democratic regime. He is right to maintain that a "deconstructionist coalition" challenges the core principles of the American nation on all fronts. At the end of the day, the deconstructionists would transform an American nation based on the principles of individual citizenship, equality of opportunity, and self-government within Constitutional limits, into a new form of regime built on ethnic, racial, and gender group rights with decision-making increasingly in the hands of unelected elites.

While Huntington provides the comprehensive macro view, Jan Golab examines a micro case study of the problem in his essay on the politics of Indian casinos (see page 26 in this issue). What is ultimately at stake is whether the traditional American regime will be transmitted to future generations intact or wholly transformed.

Clearly, all of this means that the issue of immigration/assimilation (and these two issues should always be considered as one) must be examined within the broader context of the leftist assault on traditional American political principles. To help clarify the problem, let us explore a series of assimilation-related issues that will soon confront

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

both elite and popular opinion. These include initiatives to revise the oath of allegiance, design a new citizenship test, and, most significantly, legalize the status of illegal immigrants.

Implicit in Huntington's thesis is that just below the surface of the policy debate there exists unapologetic public support for vigorous Americanization policies that would explicitly promote the patriotic integration of immigrants into what was once called "the American way of life." Besides public support, there appears to be a bloc in Congress (a counter-elite within the elite) strongly interested in patriotic, as well as economic and linguistic, integration. Last year when the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) wanted to simplify the citizenship oath, some members of Congress immediately protested, and the USCIS pulled back. Worried that the traditional oath (in which new citizens promise to "renounce" their old allegiances and "bear arms" on behalf of the United States) will be weakened, Senator Lamar Alexander (R-TN) and Congressman Jim Ryun (R-KS) have introduced legislation to codify it into law.

In addition, it appears that the forces of patriotic renewal are being heard in discussions over the development of a new citizenship test. The USCIS plans to revise the history/government and language portions, with the goal of making them fairer and more meaningful. Advocates of patriotic integration in veterans groups, think tanks, and Congress make the following arguments:

They declare that we must start with first principles by asking: What is the purpose of the history/government citizenship test?

Then they point out that the law states that applicants for citizenship must have: (1) "a knowledge and understanding of the history, and of the principles and form of government of the United States" and (2) possess "good moral character, attachment to the principles of the Constitution, and be well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States."

This leads naturally to the conclusion that the purpose of the test as a whole is not merely to get new citizens to know certain facts, but also to be "attached" to the principles of the Constitution—evidence of the explicit normative purpose of naturalization.

The citizenship naturalization process should be a life-altering experience, a rite of passage, such as a wedding, graduation, first communion, or bar mitzvah, which fosters emotional attachment to our nation and strengthens patriotism. The revised test should also include the neglected subject of America's military history and heroes. Citizens, new and old, should be aware of the sacrifices made by America's soldiers to preserve our freedom and way of life. As the classicist Victor Davis Hanson has noted: Without the military successes of Grant and Sherman against the Confederates, the slaves would not have been freed; and without the victories of Eisenhower and Patton over the Nazis, there would have been no civil rights movement.

At the end of the naturalization ceremony, the applicants take an oath of allegiance to the United States and renounce all political allegiance to their birth nations. Hence, questions on the meaning and significance of the oath should be part of the test. The oath is especially crucial to American democracy, because citizenship in America is not based on race, religion, or ethnicity, but on political loyalty. In taking the oath, the new citizen transfers allegiance from the land of his birth to the United States.

Oath-takers have a moral obligation to give up all political loyalty to their birth nations. True, the oath is sometimes violated by those who retain old citizenships, just as wedding vows are sometimes broken. Yet, the oath of allegiance, like wedding vows, represents not only a moral obligation for individuals, but a norm for our democracy, regardless of any technical loopholes allowing dual citizenship.

If it becomes routine for large numbers of new citizens to keep old political loyalties, the nature of American citizenship will be transformed, just as, say, legal polygamy would transform the nature of marriage. The principle that we are a people united by political allegiance rather than the ascriptive characteristics of race, ethnicity, and birth would be effectively repudiated.

After the November elections, national politicians will address immigration proposals designed to legalize "undocumented workers," or provide amnesty to illegal aliens (depending on your point of view), and put millions of them on the path to green cards and citizenship. The discussion to date has been almost entirely in economic terms with little or no reference to issues such as Americanization and patriotic assimilation.

"Patriotic Renewalists" on Capitol Hill could very well demand that before raising immigration quotas by embarking upon another legalization-*cum*-amnesty plan (the last one in 1986 was unsuccessful), we should get serious about patriotic assimilation. Rather than ignoring dual citizenship, we might want to take steps to limit this form of civic polygamy by, for example, enacting legal sanctions against naturalized American citizens who are elected to foreign legislatures in the land of their birth on anti-American party lists (as occurred on July 4, 2004 in Zacatecas, Mexico).

Like Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, we should insist that immigration policy be combined with serious Americanization initiatives and that immigration levels remain dependent on how well we integrate newcomers patriotically. After all, we are a nation, not just a market.

Bird's Eye guest author John Fonte is director of the Center for American Common Culture, and a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.

This installment of *The American Enterprise* was commissioned by Karl Zinsmeister and edited by Daniel Kennelly and Karina Rollins.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sidelights

By Brandon Bosworth

The week of **Ronald Reagan**'s death, more than 11,000 items of Reagan memorabilia went for sale on eBay. ··· Reagan was the tenth President to lie in state in the Capitol Rotunda. Just 9 percent of Americans believe **Bill Clinton** will be remembered as an "outstanding" President, according to a Gallup Poll. Thirteen percent said he will be remembered as a "poor" President. A Pew Research Center survey of more than 500 national and local reporters, producers, and editors revealed that only 7 percent of national journalists described themselves as "conservative," compared with 33 percent of the general public. Thirty-four percent of national journalists called themselves "liberal," as opposed to 20 percent of the public. ··· Analysis by the nonpartisan Center for Media and Public Affairs found that 81 percent of **John Kerry**'s press coverage has been positive, "the best press of any nominee" it has ever tracked. Fifty-four percent of veterans support **George W. Bush**; 40 percent support Kerry, according to a CBS News poll. People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) launched a new campaign called "Veg Eye for the Fat Guy." Overweight celebrities such as **Ruben Studdard**, **John Goodman**, and **Luciano Pavarotti** will be sent "vegetarian starter kits" and a PETA cookbook. **Kellie Gasink**, an organizer of protests against the Group of Eight summit in Savannah, GA, expected 5,000 protesters to attend. Only 150 actually showed up. Forty percent of NASCAR fans are women. Orthodox rabbis warned that New York City tap water may not be kosher, since it contains harmless micro-organisms that are technically considered shellfish. French author **Michel Thaler** published a 233-page novel that contains no verbs. Eighty-two percent of taxpayers who are audited end up owing more money to the IRS. ··· Federal income tax refunds were up 7 percent in 2004. The average refund was $2,063. Forty percent of American singles used an online dating service last year. Thongs now account for 25 percent of women's underwear sales in America.

The European constitution will not contain a reference to Christianity, despite protests from Italy and Poland. A Gallup Poll shows that just 1 percent of Americans consider the nation's moral values as "excellent." Seventy-seven percent believe the country's morals are getting worse. One third of baby boomers have not saved any money for retirement. According to a *Washington Times* report, Europe accounts for only 6 percent of the world's population, down from 14 percent 100 years ago. ··· An Internet survey of European Union citizens between 18 and 30 revealed that four fifths consider themselves European citizens and two thirds think the E.U. has "a positive future." They also trust the E.U. more than their own national governments or the United Nations. The owners of the house where **Lizzie Borden** allegedly murdered her parents want to open a Starbucks coffee shop on the premises. A British stripper was forced to quit her job due to an allergy to chrome polls. The number of U.S. teenagers who smoke has dropped by 40 percent since 1997, according to the Centers for Disease Control. The *Baltimore Sun* reports that, in Russia, 99 percent of those charged with a crime are found guilty. There are two times as many shopping malls in the U.S. as high schools. ··· The *Los Angles Times* reports that 30 percent of U.S. students never graduate from high school. Social Security Administration records show that 298 girls born in 2000 were named "Armani." Between 1950 and 2004, the size of the average American home doubled from 983 square feet to more than 2,300 square feet. ··· One out of every five homebuyers in the U.S. is a single woman. An 80-year-old Florida great-grandmother was arrested and jailed for passing a rubber check in the amount of $145.93 in 1985. Thailand's Chiang Mai Technology College has designated a "pink lotus" bathroom for use by the school's 15 transsexual and transvestite students.

"If he agrees to convert will you give us your blessing?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHEN YOU'RE LEARNING ABOUT LIFE, THE WORLD IS YOUR CLASSROOM.

WE LIVE WHERE YOU LIVE.™

That's why State Farm® supports Service-Learning, an innovative teaching method combining service to the community with classroom curriculum. Join State Farm in sharing the value of Service-Learning with your local schools and help children as they reach out to their communities. To learn more, contact The National Service-Learning Partnership at *service-learningpartnership.org*.

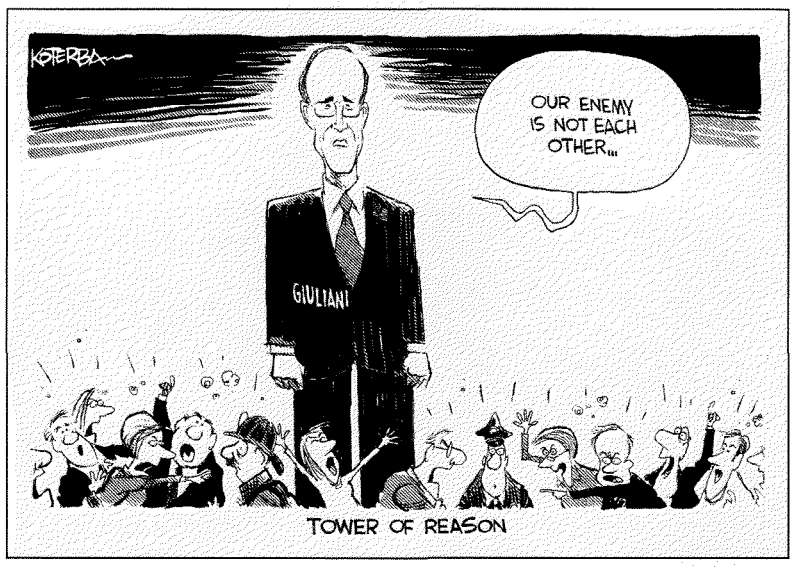
LIKE A GOOD NEIGHBOR STATE FARM INSURANCE **STATE FARM IS THERE.™**

statefarm.com®

State Farm • Home Offices: Bloomington, Illinois

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scan



WANT AN AL-QAEDA JOB? APPLY NOW—WITH REFERENCES, PLEASE

An al-Qaeda application form? It sounds like a skit from *Saturday Night Live*, but it's all too true. In the wake of the fall of the Taliban, the FBI recovered thousands of documents from al-Qaeda strongholds in Afghanistan, a good number of which were none other than detailed applications for membership in Osama bin Laden's organization.

Reading "Mujahideen Identification Form/New Applicant Form" at the top of the page, these documents require prospective applicants to provide their name, alias, date of birth, citizenship, language, and references, as well as a detailed essay on the position they are seeking.

One of these applicants was none other than would-be dirty bomber Jose Padilla, who went by the *nom de guerre* Abdullah al-Muhajir, or the Pilgrim Servant of God. Padilla, a former Chicago gang member who converted to Islam and joined al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, is now being held as an enemy combatant by the United States, and it was his recovered application form, among other things, that was cited by Deputy Attorney General James Comey on June 1 as a reason Padilla should remain that way.

The idea of al-Qaeda application forms may strike the casual Western observer as bizarre, but it actually makes a great deal of sense when one stops to consider the history and nature of the organization. Unlike smaller terrorist groups like the IRA or Hamas, al-Qaeda consists of far more people than the network's leadership can keep track of off-hand. Even in its early days in Sudan, the network employed as many as 1,000 "civilian" members just to administer bin Laden's considerable business portfolio. Depending on whom you talk to, anywhere between 10,000 and 110,000 fighters were trained in the Afghan camps during the 1990s. From the perspective of any terrorist leader, all of these people need to be accounted for and their best skills used to maximize the potential of the organization.

Take an anonymous Palestinian al-Qaeda fighter, code-named Abu Majid al-Ansari, who, after serving one tour fighting the Israeli military in southern Lebanon and another in Afghanistan against the Northern Alliance, wrote the following to his superior: "I do not wish to serve in the front line anymore. I wish to…attain martyrdom."

Nor is such behavior limited to al-Qaeda. In June this year, during the ceremonies surrounding the annual anniversary of Ayatollah Khomeini's death, the Iranian government-run Center for Appreciation of the Martyr and members of the hardline Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps offered participants the opportunity to sign up to become a suicide bomber in Iraq or Israel or to assist the Revolutionary Guards in assassinating Salman Rushdie, who was sentenced to death by the Iranian government in a 1989 *fatwa*. According to Mohammad Ali Sammadi, a spokesman of the center, as many as 10,000 attendants filled out the necessary paperwork.

Traditionally, terrorism existed on the fringes of societies. But with the attacks of September 11 and the subsequent internationalization of such terrorist tactics as suicide bombing to wide-ranging areas such as Chechnya, Indonesia, Iraq, Kashmir, and the Philippines (due in many cases to the influence of al-Qaeda or its satellite groups), terrorism has begun to go mainstream.

That is a crucial shift Westerners in general and Americans in particular need to understand if we intend to bring the war on terrorism to a successful conclusion.

—**Dan Darling**, *who speaks Arabic and has written widely on counterterrorism, is an intern at the American Enterprise Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOMETHING THAT DIDN'T MAKE THE NEWS

Maybe you'd like to hear about something other than idiot Reservists and naked Iraqis. Maybe you'd like to hear about a soldier who honored the uniform he wears. Meet Brian Chontosh.

Upstate New York boy. Proud graduate of the Rochester Institute of Technology. Husband and soon-to-be father. First lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps. And a genuine hero.

Recently, the secretary of the Navy presented Brian Chontosh with the Navy Cross, the second highest award for combat bravery the United States can bestow. But it wasn't mentioned on the network news, or even in Brian's hometown newspaper.

It was a year ago on the march into Baghdad. Brian Chontosh was a platoon leader rolling up Highway 1 in a humvee when all hell broke loose. An ambush. The young Marines were being cut to ribbons. Mortars, machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades. And the small-town upstate New York kid was in charge. It was do or die, and it was up to him.

So he looked for a way to lead his men to safety. As he tried to poke a hole through the Iraqi line, his humvee came under direct enemy machine gun fire. It was fish in a barrel and the Marines were the fish. So Brian Chontosh gave the order to attack.

He told his driver to floor the humvee directly at the machine gun emplacement firing at them. And he had the guy on top with the .50 cal unload on the enemy shooters. Within moments Iraqis slumped across the machine gun, and Chontosh was still advancing, ordering his driver to take the humvee straight into the trench full of Iraqis attacking his Marines. Over the battlement the humvee went, and out the door Brian Chontosh bailed, carrying an M-16, a Beretta, and 228 years of Marine Corps pride.

He ran down the trench, with its mortars and riflemen, machine guns and grenadiers. And he killed them all.

He fought with the M-16 until it was out of ammo. Then he fought with the Beretta until it was out. Then he picked up a dead man's AK-47 and fought with that until it had nothing left with which to shoot. Then he picked up another dead man's AK-47 and fought with that until it, too, was empty. At one point he even fired a discarded Iraqi RPG into an enemy cluster, sending attackers flying.

When he was done, Brian Chontosh had cleared 200 yards of entrenched Iraqis from his platoon's flank, killing more than 20 and wounding at least that many as well.

"By his outstanding display of decisive leadership, unlimited courage in the face of heavy enemy fire, and utmost devotion to duty, 1st Lt. Chontosh reflected great credit upon himself and upheld the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and the United States Naval Service." That's what the citation says. And that's what most Americans will never hear. Accounts of American valor are dismissed by our own press as propaganda; harping on American difficulties is heralded as objectivity.

But we'll be all right—as long as men like Brian Chontosh wear this country's uniform.

—**Bob Lonsberry** *is a journalist in western New York.*

CITIES NEED RELIGION

Los Angeles County's recent decision to remove a tiny cross from its seal has inspired enormous protest, one that seems likely to embroil the county in a storm of lawsuits and possibly lead to a divisive ballot measure during the next few months.

The whole battle smacks of a kind of amnesia about the sources of urban happiness. Contemporary discussions of the keys to healthy city life revolve around many things, from high technology to racial politics. The role of religion—and the importance of churches in keeping moral order in city life—is rarely mentioned.

That postmodern, secular approach would surely have seemed odd to our urban predecessors. Until recently, the linkage between strong cities and robust worship was obvious to all sensible observers.

Religion has played a critical role in urban history from the cities of Mesoamerica, to China and India, the Islamic cities of the Middles Ages to Renaissance Europe, right up to the latest two hundred years of American urbanity. Historically, religious authorities have generally been the ones who devised the codes that kept increasingly crowded and complex societies operating in what we might call a civilized manner.

It should not be so surprising, therefore, that here in California as well, the role of religion in building successful cities was absolutely central. The missions such as those at San Fernando or San Gabriel, whose crosses so offend ACLU attorneys, represented the earliest examples of European urban civilization in this part of the world.

More recently, it was largely religiously inspired reformers who first raised critical issues about the importance of decent housing, clean streets, and open space in cities. In Los Angeles, Methodist minister Dana Bartlett helped lead the initial drive to turn the metropolis into a "better city" with healthy neighborhoods and good environments for working-class families. Later, when business and government seemed to desert the poorest communities, it was the churches, more than any other institution, that labored to provide solace and assistance to distressed families and neighborhoods.

Cities where religious faith and practice remain strong continue to be today's healthiest metropolises. [See "God and the City," *TAE* O/N 2003.] Speaking as an essentially secular Jew, I am hardly advocating the establishment of Christianity as a kind of state or city religion.

But I am also speaking as a devoted urbanist who believes that the last thing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

urban advocates should be doing is marginalizing religion, which provides a vital positive impulse to city life.

To remove the cross from the Los Angeles seal dishonors the religious motivations of many critical shapers of the urban experience, yesterday and today. It will not do that much to hurt religion—which lives in people's hearts regardless of government attitudes. But it will hurt our city.

—**Joel Kotkin** *is a* TAE *contributing writer. A different version of this appeared in the* Los Angeles Times.

REAGAN GAINING CURRENCY

The idea of memorializing former President Ronald Reagan on American currency has much merit. However, the specific proposal championed by Grover Norquist and Kentucky Senator Mitch McConnell to replace Alexander Hamilton on the $10 bill does not. Conservatives should be wary of interposing modern Presidents—even great ones like Reagan—with one of the nation's founding fathers. Thanks to ideological fads in education, Americans are alarmingly ignorant of important figures in American history. Hamilton's likeness on the ten-spot may be the only exposure millions of Americans get to the intellectual architect of the modern free-market economy and the nation's first Secretary of the Treasury—not to mention co-author of the "Federalist Papers," leader of the Federalist Party, historic rival of Thomas Jefferson, and founder of the *New York Post*.

Andrew Jackson's removal from the $20 bill might be less objectionable, although a fellow Tennessean and current Senate majority leader may demur. The most sensible and worthwhile course would be for Congress to introduce a new Ronald Reagan $25 bill. In the tradition of Reagan, this proposal offers a win-win solution by making the pie bigger instead of playing a zero-sum game with historical figures.

President George W. Bush and the Republican Congress, who owe much of their political success—if not their very existence—to the 40th President, should take this opportunity to commemorate Reagan in the same elegant, poignant display of national affection and gratitude that marked his funeral in June. They have a civic and moral obligation to remind future generations of the Reagan legacy before revisionist academics and agenda-driven journalists seek to minimize his remarkable achievements. The Reagan $25 bill is a great start to that noble end.

—**Christian Izquierdo** *defended the Reagan record as that rare breed of conservative at the Columbia School of Journalism.*

GOVERNMENT PROTECTION: HEAVEN HELP US

While ordinary citizens and their elected representatives are thinking about immediate issues like the war against terror, federal judges are concerning themselves with the future. The long-term future.

In July, a three-judge panel of the Federal Appeals Court for the District of Columbia blocked implementation of the Energy Department's plan for burying nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain in Nevada—a project that has been in the works for 17 years and on which the government has already spent some $9 billion—on the ground that the government's standards for protecting the public from radiation leaks at the site extend for "only" 10,000 years.

Without specifying just how long protection needs to be guaranteed, the panel cited the danger that, about 270,000 years after the waste is buried, someone standing just outside the fence surrounding the site could receive a radiation dose 60 times higher than the allowable limit. The three judges urged that the site be designed in accordance with a recommendation from the National Academy of Sciences to prevent leaks when the danger is forecast to be highest—in about 300,000 years.

TERESA HEINZ KERRY'S PHILANTHROPY

Americans know the nation's would-be First Lady, Teresa Heinz Kerry, as an heir to her late husband's fortune.

Between 1995 and 2001, the Howard Heinz Endowment gave nearly $5 million to the Tides Foundation. Here's a look at a few of the organizations funded by Tides:

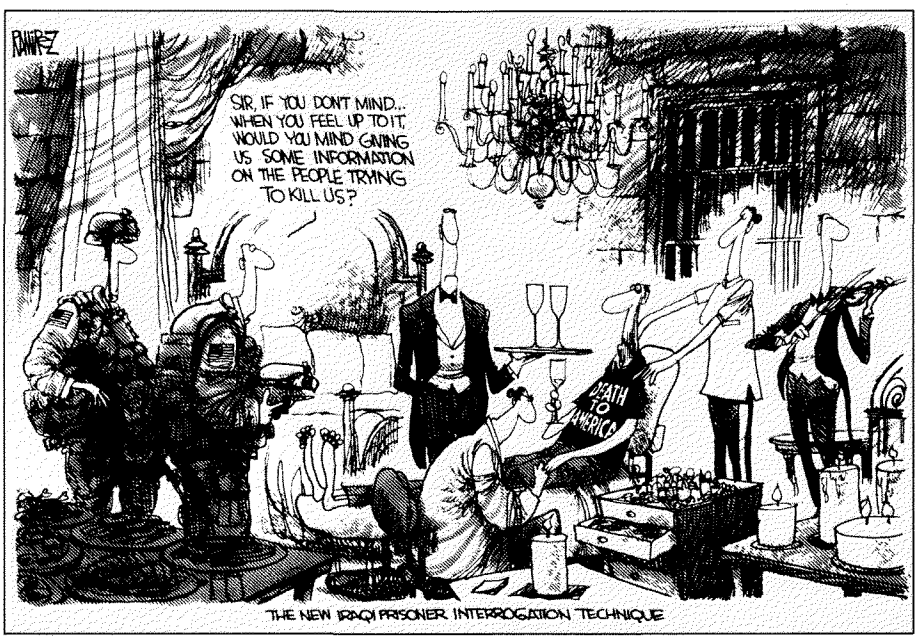
- The Colin Higgins Foundation focuses on "empowering lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender peoples by supporting community-based organizations that foster leadership in these communities and combat homophobia," and "places emphasis on...projects that work with LGBTQQ youth."
- The Barrio Warriors de Aztlan is an organization "dedicated to Chicano Power" and to the "reconquest" of "Aztlan," (which includes parts of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas conquered by the United States in the Mexican-American War of 1846).
- The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) "seeks to empower the Muslim community in America through political and social activism." Despite its innocuous-sounding name, the organization has known ties to the Islamic terrorist group Hamas.

Mrs. Kerry and representatives from the Howard Heinz Endowment claim the Heinz money given to Tides was earmarked exclusively for environmental causes.

But as a board member of endowments that give money to Tides, Kerry's wife has sent money directly into the sea of radically far-left causes, many of which are outright anti-American.

—*Nancy Kennedy*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



To put things in perspective, let's recall that civilization in any meaningful sense originated in the Middle East barely 5,000 years ago. How can a government body or court take account of what conditions will be like 270,000 years from now? Assuming that civilization lasts that long, isn't it more than likely that some means of reinforcing the Yucca site will have been discovered in the meantime?

By focusing exclusively on possible dangers that may occur at a single desert site some 2,700 centuries from now, the court effectively discounted the very real near-term risks created by leaving spent nuclear fuel stored indefinitely at some 68 sites around the U.S.

Meanwhile, the federal government faces lawsuits seeking hundreds of millions of dollars in damages brought by nuclear utilities that have been taxed to pay for disposal at Yucca Mountain, which was originally supposed to have begun receiving waste in 1998. Continued delays will also obstruct the further development of nuclear power, which has been used by countries like France on a far greater scale than in the U.S. to reduce their dependence on Middle Eastern oil.

In acceding to the demands made by the state of Nevada and environmental groups, the federal court followed a pattern dissected by Cornell government professor Jeremy Rabkin in his 1989 book *Judicial Compulsions,* in which courts have repeatedly cooperated with self-styled public-interest lobbies to thwart the will of Congress and executive agencies charged with balancing competing factors and interests on behalf of the overall public interest.

Perhaps the courts can next work on reorganizing the mythical Social Security "lockbox" to guarantee our descendants full pensions and medical coverage in the year 272,004.

—David Schaefer *is a professor of political science at Holy Cross College.*

ABUSE, TORTURE, AND VIDEOTAPE

When the Abu Ghraib prison scandal became big news in May, several prominent Democratic politicians claimed that the abuse inflicted by American soldiers was on the same scale as that dished out by Saddam Hussein and his thugs. Senator Ted Kennedy said on the Senate floor that Abu Ghraib was simply "under new management: U.S. management." In a speech for MoveOn.org, former Presidential nominee Al Gore labeled the prison abuse scandal a "Bush gulag."

The Department of Defense recently released a video found in postwar Iraq showing exactly what transpired when Saddam's henchmen were in charge. The video is not for the faint of heart, showing sickening and grotesque images of pure sadistic violence. These include a prisoner's tongue being torn out of his mouth, a man's hand being surgically severed from his arm, and, in the final scene, a beheading.

Even though the video is shocking and revolting, the content on the tape is certainly newsworthy—especially when there is a still a debate over whether removing Saddam was the right thing to do. Most mainstream media outlets, however, apparently disagreed with this news judgment. With the notable exceptions of FOX News and the *New York Post*, the media was uninterested in the video: When a bipartisan group of senators released the footage, most media simply ignored the event. The American Enterprise Institute held a follow-up viewing of the tape that was also sparsely attended by the Fourth Estate.

The mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. soldiers was reprehensible and criminal. But in Iraq and in the war against terrorism, it's important to keep things in context. And politicians who equate the two types of abuse seen in these very different pictures are purposely feeding a monstrous inaccuracy, trying to score partisan political points in the worst possible way.

—Bryan O'Keefe *is a research assistant at the American Enterprise Institute.*

NO-CHARACTER KERRY

Democratic candidate John Kerry turned heads on July 4 while speaking with the *Dubuque Telegraph Herald* in Iowa. He said, "I oppose abortion personally. I don't like abortion. I believe life begins at conception. But I can't take my Catholic belief, my article of faith, and legislate it on a Protestant or a Jew or an atheist who doesn't share it. We have separation of church and state in the United States of America." Although at first glance one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might expect such a statement to be slightly unsettling to feminists and liberals, it has been surprisingly well received by his party and organizations representing his base, such as Planned Parenthood. But should they worry?

Is Kerry's statement, "I believe life begins at conception" really an "article of faith?" If Kerry had instead said, "I believe abortion is a *sin*," the statement would indeed reflect a personal religious belief. But he didn't say that. He made a factual statement about when life begins—a judgment on the ethics of abortion.

So in Kerry's world, abortion ends a life; yet he neglects to say it is wrong. You'd think such a display of ethical cowardice would be a blot on his record, but so far the American press has given him a pass.

But what if Kerry really isn't a moral coward? Then that must mean that all those religious beliefs are make-believe—just another stratagem to get the vote. But there's evidence that stratagem isn't working. When asked about John Kerry's religiosity, only 7 percent of Americans described him as "a person of strong religious faith." (Forty-seven percent described George W. Bush in those terms. See Opinion Pulse on page 62 for the complete breakdown.)

T. S. Eliot once said, "Character is higher than intellect." Obviously, John Kerry missed that class.

—**Mary Rybak** *is a* TAE *intern.*

MOORE'S LAW

"If Michael Moore had had his way, Slobodan Milosevic would still be the big man in a starved and tyrannical Serbia. Bosnia and Kosovo would have been cleansed and annexed. If Michael Moore had been listened to, Afghanistan would still be under Taliban rule, and Kuwait would have remained part of Iraq. And Iraq itself would still be the personal property of a psychopathic crime family, bargaining covertly with the slave state of North Korea for WMD."

—***Christopher Hitchens,*** *"Unfairenheit 9/11: The lies of Michael Moore,"* Slate.

INDIA: POISED FOR GREATNESS?

Let's imagine two developing countries: Country "A" has spent the last two decades abandoning socialist autarky, embracing the free market, and dramatically reducing poverty. It appears poised to double its middle class over the next ten years from 300 million to a whopping 600 million, a huge potential market for U.S. exports. It is the world's most populous democracy.

Country "B," on the other hand, has the highest industrial and agricultural tariffs in the developing world. Though it has one fifth of the world's population, it accounts for less than one twentieth of global industrial output. Corruption and inefficiency are rampant, and the U.S. has carried a large trade deficit with this country for the past several years. Americans fear its large pool of well-educated, low-wage workers will sap jobs from the U.S. economy, and a vaguely anti-business party has just come to power in "B's" parliament.

With which of these countries should the U.S. increase trade? The answer is both, for they are the same country: India. The question now is whether India will continue to evolve in direction "A," or regress toward "B."

Assistant U.S. Trade Representative Ashley Willis, Indian entrepreneur Anand Mahindra, and T. N. Ninan, publisher of an Indian business newspaper, reviewed the great strides made recently by India at a recent conference at the American Enterprise Institute. Mahindra noted that within the past few years India has gone from adding a mere 100,000 new telephone connections per year to more than 2 million per month. Turnaround speeds in Indian ports have doubled. Improvements to roads and highways have cut travel times in some places by half.

A generation ago, a mercantilist siege mentality prevailed in India which saw imports as bad. That defensiveness is slowly melting away, said Mahindra and Ninan. "Now Indians want to go out into the world and conquer it," Ninan said. "Young people are much more willing to take risks at creating wealth." Trade as a percentage of India's GDP has doubled over the past ten years.

Add to the above the fact that India is a functioning democracy, and thus free of many of the problems plaguing China's attempts to wed prosperity with political diktat, and India would seem a natural U.S. trade partner—except for the media storm over "outsourcing" that has raged since last year. But the United States actually had a trade surplus with India of almost $1 billion in services last year. In goods, we had a trade deficit of $8 billion, but that is dwarfed by our deficit with China of almost $124 billion.

"India is headed for greatness, but it will get there even faster if it opens its markets at a more virtuous rate and embraces globalization in sectors other than just information technology," suggested Willis. "The more India stiff-arms the world, the slower its growth rate will be and the more resentment it will face."

India's free-market evolution has been impressive, but it could proceed even faster. Charles de Gaulle once said of Brazil: "It has great potential. And it always will." Only time will tell if de Gaulle's quip will apply to India, or whether it will transform itself into a complete success.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

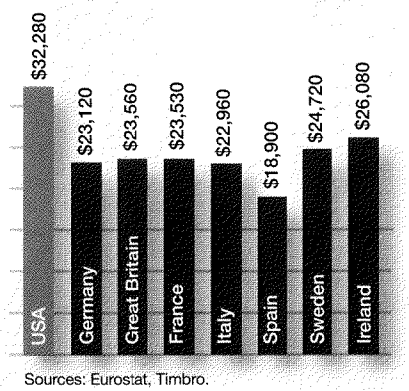
By Karl Zinsmeister and Eli Lehrer

Indicators

E.U. ECONOMY BEHIND THE U.S.

A new report from the Swedish research institute Timbro begins with the question: "If the European Union were a part of the United States of America, would it belong to the richest or the poorest group of states?" The study then reveals that Europe trails well behind the U.S. economically, has fallen further back in recent years, and shows no signs of reforming in ways that would allow it to catch up. Timbro argues that a combination of high taxes, low investment, and overbearing regulation is to blame for the lagging prosperity of Europe.

Gross domestic product per capita
in dollars, year 2000

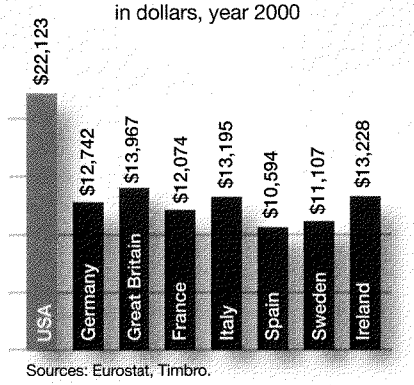


Sources: Eurostat, Timbro.

THE STANDARD-OF-LIVING GAP

The gap between Europeans and Americans grows wider still when one considers individual consumption and standards of living, rather than just economic output. Thanks to lower taxes and cheaper consumer goods in the U.S., Americans can buy more than Europeans even at the same income level. As a result, relatively poor Americans can now afford things that many higher income Europeans cannot.

Private consumption per capita
in dollars, year 2000



Sources: Eurostat, Timbro.

COMPARING LOCALES

Even relatively low income American states are better off than the European average. Only one European country, tiny Luxembourg, has a per capita GDP that would sit in the ranks of the top U.S. states. Germany, on the other hand, is poorer than Kentucky.

Relative wealth
selected states & countries
E.U. average = 1

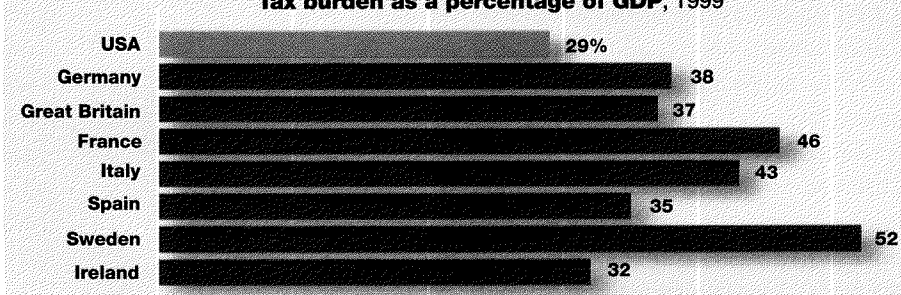
Delaware	2.0
Luxembourg	1.9
Connecticut	1.9
New York	1.7
California	1.5
Illinois	1.5
Virginia	1.5
Texas	1.4
U.S. AVERAGE	1.4
North Carolina	1.3
Pennsylvania	1.3
Kentucky	1.3
Florida	1.2
Germany	1.2
Ireland	1.2
United Kingdom	1.1
France	1.0
Italy	1.0
E.U. AVERAGE	1.0
West Virginia	0.9
Mississippi	0.9
Spain	0.8
Portugal	0.7

Sources: Eurostat, Timbro, U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis.

TAX BURDENS

To finance their large welfare states, Europeans pay much higher taxes than Americans. The European countries that are now performing best economically, however (Ireland, Spain, Great Britain), are those with tax rates closer to which prevail in the U.S.

Tax burden as a percentage of GDP, 1999



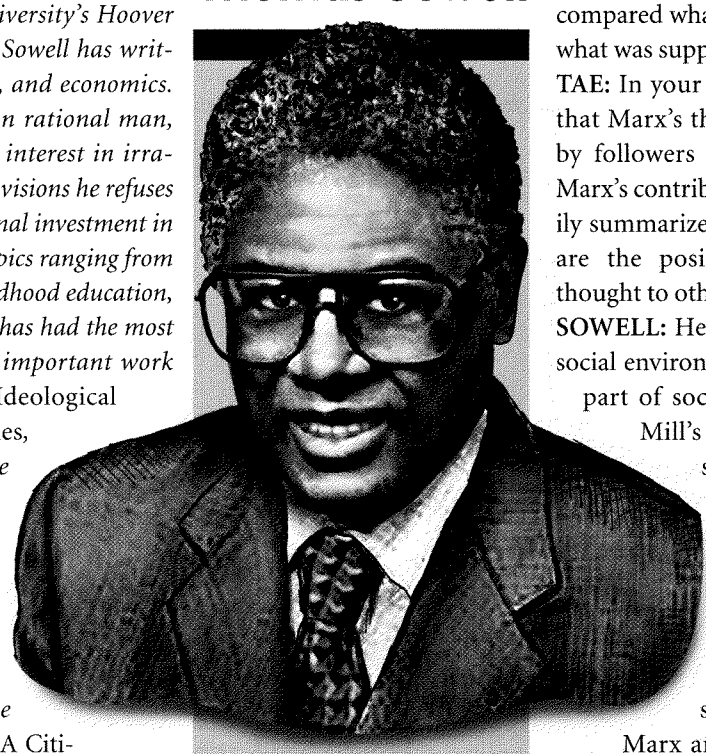
Source: OECD, Timbro.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Live with TAE

Not many academics win fame for being both a scholarly theorizer and a popular writer. This prolific researcher has done so, in the process pioneering a niche once thought to be an oxymoron: the black conservative thinker.

Thomas Sowell



A senior fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, economist Thomas Sowell has written extensively on race, culture, and economics. While most economists focus on rational man, Sowell has shown a particular interest in irrational man—man in the grip of visions he refuses to test because he has an emotional investment in them. Among his 34 books on topics ranging from immigration to Marxism to childhood education, it is hard to know where Sowell has had the most impact. He considers his most important work to be A Conflict of Visions: Ideological Origins of Political Struggles, *which examines the ideas that lie behind the main political controversies of the past two centuries. In it, Sowell warns that utopian views have caused much misery in our time.*

Sowell's latest book is Applied Economics, *a companion volume to his earlier* Basic Economics: A Citizen's Guide to the Economy. *He is currently working on two books:* Affirmative Action Around the World, *a study of preferential race policies, and a book on black education. Sowell was interviewed for* TAE *by Los Angeles journalist David Isaac in Palo Alto, California.*

TAE: You started as a Marxist.

SOWELL: Yes. The first time I read anything really serious about him was when I was about 19. I remember buying an old, secondhand set of encyclopedias for a dollar and 19 cents. (Amazing how you remember details from important events!) In it was a long piece about Marx with all these quotations from him, and it all seemed to ring so true. Fortunately, even during my period of Marxism I had respect for evidence and logic, so it was only a matter of time before my Marxism began to unravel as I compared what actually happened in history to what was supposed to happen.

TAE: In your 1982 book, *Marxism*, you show that Marx's thought has been misunderstood by followers and critics alike, but also that Marx's contribution to economics "can be readily summarized as virtually zero." What, if any, are the positive contributions of Marxist thought to other fields?

SOWELL: He taught us to see changes in the social environment as influencing the political part of society. He reacted to John Stuart Mill's notion that you could explain social changes by the general progress of the human mind—the idea that as time went on, people, particularly the leading intellectuals who served as guides for the rest of society, had a better and better understanding of things.

The Left doesn't seem to regard polarization as something to be avoided: It enables them to be on the side of the angels.

Marx argued, "No, you need to understand the social environment in which diverse ideas flourish." Different classes, because they see the world from different angles, will believe different things. The clash of those classes will then help explain some of the changes that occur in society. The great negative aspect of all this is that it makes the surrounding environment seem almost omnipotent. It exalts external causes and extinguishes internal causes.

A simple example. Italian and Jewish immigrants arrived from Europe at about the same time, lived on the Lower East Side of New York, were side by side in the same schools. But their trajectories were completely different. Jewish kids did a lot better. More graduated from schools. The Italians, even when they rose up the socioeconomic scale, as they eventually did, tended to rise in different areas, in different occupations, than Jews. The immediate surrounding environ-

Illustration by Paul Loughran

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment really was no different for the two, but they had very different cultural histories that Marxism would have a hard time explaining.

TAE: Several of your books have been devoted to showing how culture has determined capabilities—you range across history, continents, and a wide variety of societies to demonstrate this.

SOWELL: People compare blacks and whites, but there are many differences within the black community alone. A disproportionate number of successful black people come from the West Indies. People talk about the legacy of slavery. Well, there's just as much legacy of slavery in the West Indies as the American South. Yet West Indians do so much better in the United States. They didn't get the cultural legacy that's been such a handicap for the other blacks.

A study was done about the leading black professionals in Washington, D.C. The characteristics of these people, particularly what their grandfathers did, make it clear that these were the descendants of the half million free persons of color who were freed prior to the Civil War. They had cultural advantages. A disproportionate number of them were in fact the offspring of slave owners. One of the classic cases was Senator Blanche K. Bruce of the Reconstruction era. Bruce was educated by tutors alongside the master's son, or, as some would say, the master's other son. So even in the era of slavery there were cultural differences that showed up in later eras.

TAE: You once said that you write when you have something to say. Or you'll see something that riles you up. In your preface for *The Quest for Cosmic Justice* you say the impetus for the book was the sophomoric remarks of a colleague. Are your critics in this sense an asset?

SOWELL: There's a lot to get riled up about these days, and I would say that half or more of the things I've written were written, one, because I thought they needed to be said, and two, because I thought most people had better sense than to believe what the experts were claiming.

TAE: You point out that the inefficiency of political control of an economy has been demonstrated more often in more places in more conditions than almost anything outside the realm of pure science. Yet such control continues to be exercised again and again. Is there any hope of reason winning out in other areas if it cannot make a dent here?

Someone recently asked me for a list of black conservative authors. Thirty years ago that would have been Walter Williams and me. Today there are more than I could possibly keep track of.

SOWELL: Reason has made a dent. Ronald Reagan started to privatize. Socialists started to privatize. China—the communists—started to privatize. So if reason doesn't lead us there, experience sometimes will.

It happened with me. When I first read Friedrich Hayek's "The Use of Knowledge in Society," assigned in class by Milton Friedman, I just didn't see the relevance it had to anything. Three years later, I began my teaching career at Douglass College, and because I'd written on Marx, they thought I could teach a course on the Soviet economy. I had to start at square one. I read tons of stuff about all these weird things that happened in the Soviet economy, and I began to see the relevance of what Hayek said. Up to that moment it had just seemed like a bunch of statements, but once you begin to see the concrete links, then you say, "Oh my goodness, why are they doing this?" Such as the fact that the Soviet central planning commission actually set 24 million prices.

The problem is that the people who do these things often think only about the goals they're pursuing. I used to have a friend who was a big leftist. And when he'd propose some utopian scheme I would say, "Yes, but how would you actually *do* this?" And he'd say, "Tom, we'll leave that to the technocrats."

TAE: Is this your friend Al, whom you talk about in your autobiography, *A Personal Odyssey*?

SOWELL: Yes. My radical friend Al. I remember once I was in Maryland with Al and Walter Williams. It turns out they're both from Philadelphia. Walter says, "Ah, you must know so-and-so." And Al says no. "Well, what about what's-his-name?" And Al says "No." These questions go on and I see that Al is getting more uncomfortable and Walter is getting more puzzled. Finally Walter says, "Where did you live?" Al tells him (it's a fancy neighborhood) and Walter says, "My God, I didn't know any black people lived there!"

Yet Al is regarded today as the *authentic* black. When he taught at Hunter College, the department chairman had to tell him to be sure to let in the regular students who needed his course to graduate, because so many fashionable housewives from Park Avenue were crowding in to hear him denounce this fascist, American society.

TAE: Have you written about that phenomenon?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOWELL: The two most controversial pieces I've written were in the *Washington Post* in 1981, called "Blacker Than Thou" and "Blacker Than Thou II." Oh, the fury. An entire page of the *Post* was devoted to letters attacking me. Patricia Roberts Harris said something like, "People like Sowell and Williams are middle class. They don't know what it is to be poor." So I proceeded to point out that not only was Patricia Roberts Harris not poor, but that I never saw Patricia Roberts Harris at Howard University when we were there at the same time because she was in a sorority that would not admit dark-skinned girls.

TAE: In one of your books you expressed your belief that double standards and political correctness are opening up a gulf between favored minorities and the rest of the population, with explosive future potential. How do you see the situation now?

SOWELL: Oh, I think the resentment is there. Affirmative action and so on are great recruiting items for racist organizations. The terrible thing is that the Left doesn't seem to regard polarization as something to be avoided. Polarization enables them to be on the side of the angels. They're not going to suffer the repercussions down the road. Nor will most of the black elites. If we should ever, heaven forbid, reach some kind of race war in this country, the "black leaders" are going to be safely removed from the friction points. The people in the middle of the ghetto who never got anything out of preferences are going to be the ones left to suffer the consequences.

TAE: Your 1992 book, *Inside American Education*, is a devastating indictment of everything from the way we train teachers to political correctness to the deceptive way ideological fads are foisted on an unsuspecting public. Have these trends changed at all in the decade since you wrote the book? Have there been improvements?

SOWELL: There's a recent case in Fairfax, Virginia in which irate parents got one of these programs removed from their schools, something called the International Baccalaureate Curriculum. It's internationalism, socialism, the usual nonsense, which among other things, aside from being wrong, takes up a lot of time that could be spent on real subjects.

The people who are running this stuff are saying, "Our children will change the world." Well, the thought of these poorly educated people taking it upon themselves to change the world.... Better I should try to rebuild the World Trade Center with my own hands.

I'm always embarrassed when people say that I'm courageous. Soldiers are courageous. Policemen are courageous. Firemen are courageous. I just have a thick hide and disregard what silly people say.

But there are pockets here and there of people fighting back. Among blacks it is quite clear there are countertrends, though the crazies are still in charge. Someone teaching a high school class recently asked me for writings by black conservative authors so his students could hear both sides. Thirty years ago that would have been an easy question to answer because it would have been Walter Williams and me, but today there are more black conservative writers than I could possibly keep track of.

There are black talk show hosts all across the country, from Armstrong Williams in Washington to Ken Hamblin in Denver to Larry Elder in Los Angeles and all kinds of people in between. And these are typically younger individuals. I don't see many new Jesse Jacksons and Al Sharptons coming along. In the long run there's a good chance for a turnaround. On the other hand, between now and then, a lot, probably millions, of young blacks will go right down the tubes because of bad ideas promoted by today's black leadership.

TAE: You note in *Races & Cultures* the tendency of some economically triumphant minorities like Jews to favor the political Left, and suggest that it is worthy of further research. What reasons do you think account for it?

SOWELL: I don't know. That's why it's worthy of further research. It's only in fairly recent times that you get a serious, politically conservative Jewish intelligentsia. Raymond Aron in France. Milton Friedman here.

TAE: How would you begin to study such a subject?

SOWELL: I'd have to consult someone who's much more intimately familiar with these communities. My suspicion is that it's really the later generations that turn left. It's not the street peddler who turns left but his grandchild who's sent off to Harvard or City College of New York—partly because his parents and grandparents are a tough act to follow.

That's one of the reasons that so many heirs to fortunes bankroll left-wing movements. You can imagine the heirs of David Packard. He

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

started in a garage rented with borrowed money. You can't get more shaky that that. And here are all these rich heirs, who will never have to work a day in their lives, finding nothing better to do than bankroll the environmental movements making life miserable for many working people.

I was talking to one of my favorite clerks down at a photography place in Palo Alto. He mentioned that he'd read a column of mine recently. I said, "Wait a minute, there's no column of mine that appears in any newspaper within 50 miles of here." He says, "I live in Tracy."

"You live in Tracy? That's a long haul from here," I observed.

"Well, I certainly can't afford to live in Palo Alto," he said.

Wealthy elites have nothing better to do than make life miserable for people like this guy, who has to spend a couple of hours each way on the congested freeway. Extreme environmentalists have helped drive people of moderate income out of the Bay Area. They've especially driven out people with children, and they've driven out blacks. All the while espousing these great pieties.

TAE: Do you think the public will turn on the environmentalists? Will there be a point where people just get fed up?

SOWELL: I hope so and I'm doing everything I can. I have three columns on my Web site now on this issue. One of them features a couple who own 18 acres of land and want to build a house on it. They have jumped over many hoops in a year and a half, and they've only just recently gotten the first permit to allow them to go and get the other permit.

TAE: In San Luis Obispo in California people have to worry about some kind of federally endangered snail. If someone wants to build, and finds it in his backyard, it spells all kinds of trouble.

SOWELL: I don't believe in vigilante action but I'm tempted in my daydreams to organize a group of guys in combat fatigues to go out there at night and pick up those snails so people can get on with their lives. There was some butterfly that was holding up building up in San Bruno. It's a crushing burden. In this area, from San Jose up to San Francisco, the average price of a home is over half a million dollars. We're not talking mansions. We're talking little nothing houses jammed together.

The tragedy is that the Left has never understood the importance of incentives in general or power in particular: Power is the only thing that deters power.

TAE: At the end of *Applied Economics*, you explain that it's impossible for different parts of the world to have equal development. Yet economic disparities often lead to claims of "exploitation" and solutions built on controlling people's lives.

SOWELL: There's something Eric Hoffer said: "Intellectuals cannot operate at room temperature." There always has to be a crisis—some terrible reason why their superior wisdom and virtue must be imposed on the unthinking masses. It doesn't matter what the crisis is. A hundred years ago it was eugenics. At the time of the first Earth Day a generation ago, the big scare was global cooling, a big ice age. They go from one to the other. It meets their psychological needs and gives them a reason for exercising their power. Many intellectuals' preoccupation with the poor is very much the same thing. The thing that gives it all away is that after they say, "We must have this program because the poor can't afford medicine, or can't afford housing," they will splutter if you say, "OK, let's have a means test so it really goes to the poor." If they were really concerned primarily about the poor, they would agree to it. But they are bitterly opposed to that, because the poor are a lever to reach other, political, goals.

Walter Williams figured out some years ago that the amount of money needed to move the poor out of poverty would be trivial compared to the amount of money that's spent on these damn programs that are supposed to help the poor but usually don't. But the poor are being used as human shields in the political battle. You put the poor up in front of you as you march across the battlefield and enemy troops won't fire, so you can expand your power, and raise taxes, and so forth.

TAE: In a recent column, you mentioned that Democrats are running out of poor people as a useful tool.

SOWELL: Yes, they inflate the numbers. One way is by counting persons who don't have real problems but temporarily lack income, like students. When I first started studying poverty some 20 years ago, I was astonished to discover how many people among the official ranks of the poor had air conditioning, which I didn't

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have! Thousands of poor people with swimming pools? I didn't have a swimming pool! I'm sure there were years when Donald Trump was not making money because things weren't going his way. Technically, he was down there among the poor.

TAE: Will we ever go back to a political vision that accepts mankind's limits, or will future politics be dominated by people who claim men are perfectible, and just need another program or law to bring about heaven on earth?

SOWELL: That's the $64,000 question. I take heart from people who fought the good fight regardless of what the odds looked like. I often think of Whittaker Chambers, who left the communist movement at a time when he thought he was leaving the winners to go join the losers. I think of people in World War II landing in these God-forsaken islands out in the Pacific. They must have wondered, "What does anyone want with this miserable piece of land?" They went ahead and fought and many of them died for it. And eventually from those islands came the planes that put an end to World War II. But they had no way of knowing that when they were storming the beaches. They knew they had a job to do and they did it.

I'm old enough I probably won't live to be disappointed. It's just a matter of going on and fighting the fight, realizing of course that I wouldn't be here if my predecessors hadn't fought their fight. And they had a hell of a lot more to put up with than I do. I'm always embarrassed when people say that I'm courageous. Soldiers are courageous. Policemen are courageous. Firemen are courageous. I just have a thick hide and disregard what silly people say.

TAE: In *A Conflict of Visions*, you wrote, "the concept of 'nation building' is a fundamental misconception. Nations may grow and evolve but cannot be built." In Iraq we're attempting to build a democratic society. Is that an example of an unconstrained vision at work?

SOWELL: Yes. It may be that the Bush people are trying to appeal politically to people with utopian visions. I'm not privy to what the inner circle is saying. Before the Iraq war I was quite disturbed by some of the neoconservatives, who were saying things like, "What is the point of being a superpower if you can't do such-and-such, take on these responsibilities?" The point of being a superpower is that people will leave you alone.

Even during my period of Marxism I had respect for evidence and logic, so it was only a matter of time before my Marxism began to unravel.

An argument can be made that the war in Iraq was the right thing, with or without the weapons of mass destruction, because we needed to send a message to the terrorists, and, more important, to the people who are harboring the terrorists, that we will act. Everyone knew all along that the United States had the power to wipe out any nation on the face of the earth. I remember my sister saying, "What could they be thinking coming over here and attacking the World Trade Center, knowing what the power situation was?" I said, "They knew all that. They didn't think we had the guts to do anything."

Bill Clinton, among other Presidents, had given them that impression. Our intellectuals had given them that impression. Those people who fought the hijackers and made them crash out in Pennsylvania did a great thing, not only in and of itself, but in letting people know that Americans are not a bunch of wimps. People don't know you will fight until you actually do.

TAE: You recently wrote, "If it comes down to a battle between the wimps and the barbarians, the barbarians will win." You point out that in previous periods there were far fewer members of the liberal intelligentsia in the West than we have today, and they had less impact.

SOWELL: Absolutely. The tragedy is that the Left has never understood the importance of incentives in general or power in particular. That power is the only thing that deters power.

The only thing terrorists care about is their power. Depriving them of their power is the only way to change them. When they see the Taliban replaced in Afghanistan, and Saddam Hussein ousted in Iraq, that's a strong message. I don't think it's coincidental that Qaddafi decided that he would try to be a little more reasonable now than he was in the past.

The Left's silly crusade against guns is another classic example—claiming that the way to stop gun crime is to disarm law-abiding people. It's hard to imagine anyone who grew up in a tough neighborhood believing that. But these people on the Left have often grown up in very sheltered environments.

I remember a highly educated man in San Francisco who didn't think police really had any effect on crime, that he would be just as safe without them. He never felt the need for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

police to defend him—no one bothered him! That's a vision that pervades a large section of the intelligentsia.

TAE: You have warned that the notion of justice that comes from following established processes is being replaced in our judicial system by a more cosmic and arbitrary and emotional notion of justice, and that this amounts to a silent repeal of the American Revolution.

SOWELL: There are a few holdouts. With luck Justice Janice Rogers Brown may get confirmed in the next Congress. She's really a fine judge. What's ironic is that liberals say she's unqualified. The real problem is she's *too* qualified. She's qualified enough that she may well become a factor not only on the District Court but a candidate for the Supreme Court, so they're going to try and cut her off at the pass. And if they have to lie to do it, that's a small price to pay because they have paid it many times before. Senator Kerry's attack on Judge Charles Pickering really turned my stomach: "Pickering became an advocate for a cross burner." Pickering's objection to the sentencing was actually that the guy was *not* a cross burner yet got a longer sentence than the guy who *was*. Pickering stood up to the Ku Klux Klan when it was literally a danger to your life to do so in Mississippi. When they integrated schools down in Mississippi, Pickering sent his child to a school with black kids, which is more than most white liberals ever do today.

TAE: How would you assess your impact after these many years of writing, so much of it against the dominant orthodoxies of our time?

SOWELL: I'm not sure anyone can assess his own work. I certainly wouldn't have the objectivity. I'm always pleasantly surprised by the people who have read what I've written. I remember some years ago, I was waiting in an airport in New Delhi when somebody walked by with a copy of *The Economics and Politics of Race*. More recently Shelby Steele came back from Poland, and said, "At the university there, people were all asking, do I know you?" *Basic Economics* has been translated into Polish. You just never know. I'm sure that at least 95 percent of the people in this country have never heard of me, and that's the way it should be.

Someone's impact is often hard to see. I think of Friedrich Hayek. People who never heard of him, who never read a word he wrote, are nevertheless strongly influenced by his ideas on economic liberty. There are think tanks in Australia and Jamaica and South America based on Hayek's work that are now directly reaching the public who have no idea who the source is.

If it comes down to a battle between the wimps and the barbarians, the barbarians will win.

TAE: What in your career are you most proud of?

SOWELL: As an intellectual achievement I would say *A Conflict of Visions* or *Say's Law*. In terms of something useful to other people, *Late Talking Children*. The parents of children who were delayed in speaking have been very generous in their expressions of gratitude for what I've done, which really has been quite modest. The most important thing I did was put these people in touch with one another through the group that I formed.

TAE: How would you like to be remembered?

SOWELL: Oh, heavens, I'm not sure I want to be particularly remembered. I would like the ideas that I've put out there to be remembered.

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
ONLINE
Visit our Web site—
which was selected
for Netscape's
"Editor's Choice" Award.
www.TAEmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ONE NATION, OUT OF MANY

Why "Americanization" of newcomers is still important

BY SAMUEL HUNTINGTON

Newscom.com/Picture History

Immigration then...

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America's core culture has primarily been the culture of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century settlers who founded our nation. The central elements of that culture are the Christian religion; Protestant values, including individualism, the work ethic, and moralism; the English language; British traditions of law, justice, and limits on government power; and a legacy of European art, literature, and philosophy. Out of this culture the early settlers formulated the American Creed, with its principles of liberty, equality, human rights, representative government, and private property. Subsequent generations of immigrants were assimilated into the culture of the founding settlers and modified it, but did not change it fundamentally. It was, after all, Anglo-Protestant culture, values, institutions, and the opportunities they created that attracted more immigrants to America than to all the rest of the world.

America was founded as a Protestant society, and for 200 years almost all Americans practiced Protestantism. With substantial Catholic immigration, first from Germany and Ireland and then Italy and Poland, the proportion of Protestants declined—to about 60 percent of the population by 2000. Protestant beliefs, values, and assumptions, however, have been the core element (along with the English language) of America's settler culture, and they continue to pervade and shape American life, society, and thought. Protestant values have shaped American attitudes toward private and public morality, economic activity, government, and public policy. They have even deeply influenced Catholicism and other religions in America.

Throughout our history, people who were not white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants have become Americans by adopting America's Anglo-Protestant culture and political values. This benefited them, and it benefited the country. Millions of immigrants and their children achieved wealth, power, and status in American society precisely because they assimilated themselves into the prevailing culture.

One has only to ask: Would America be the America it is today if in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it had been settled not by British Protestants but by French, Spanish, or Portuguese

Samuel Huntington is Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor at Harvard and a member of AEI's Academic Advisory Council. This article is excerpted from his recent book, Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity *(Simon and Schuster 2004).*

Newscom.com/UPI Photo Service

...and immigration now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Catholics? The answer is no. It would not be America; it would be Quebec, Mexico, or Brazil.

The unfolding of British Protestant culture in America didn't just happen. It was orchestrated by our founders.

The unfolding of British Protestant culture in America didn't just happen; it was orchestrated by our founders. As immigrants poured in during the late eighteenth century, our forefathers saw the need to "make Americans" of the new arrivals on their shores. "We must," John Jay said in 1797, "see our people more Americanized." At the peak of this effort in 1919, Justice Louis Brandeis declared that Americanization meant the immigrant "adopts the clothes, the manners, and the customs generally prevailing here…substitutes for his mother tongue the English language," ensures that "his interests and affections have become deeply rooted here," and comes "into complete harmony with our ideals and aspirations." When he has done all this, the new arrival will have "the national consciousness of an American." The acquisition of American citizenship, the renunciation of foreign allegiances, and the rejection of dual loyalties and nationalities are key components of this process.

During the decades before World War I, the huge wave of immigrants flooding into America generated a major social movement devoted to Americanizing these new arrivals. It involved local, state, and national governments, private organizations, and businesses. Americanization became a key element in the Progressive phase of American politics, and was promoted by Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and other leaders.

Industrial corporations established schools at their factories to train immigrants in the English language and American values. In almost every city with a significant immigrant population the chamber of commerce had an Americanization program. Henry Ford was a leader in efforts to make immigrants into productive American workers. "These men of many nations must be taught American ways, the English language, and the right way to live," he stated. The Ford Motor Company instituted a six- to eight-month English language course that immigrant employees were compelled to attend, with graduates receiving diplomas qualifying them for citizenship. U.S. Steel and International Harvester sponsored similar programs, and, as one scholar has said, "a good many businessmen inaugurated factory classes, distributed civics lessons in pay envelopes, and even subsidized public evening schools."

A huge number of private nonprofit organizations also became involved in Americanization activities. The YMCA organized classes to teach immigrants English. Ethnic and religious organizations with ties to incoming immigrants actively promoted Americanization. Liberal reformers, conservative businessmen, and concerned citizens founded organizations such as the Committee on Information for Aliens, the North American Civic League for Immigrants, the Chicago League for the Protection of Immigrants, the Educational Alliance of New York City, the Baron de Hirsch Fund (aimed at Jewish immigrants), the Society for Italian Immigrants, and many similar organizations. These groups counseled newcomers, provided evening classes in the English language and American ways, and helped them find jobs and homes.

In due course, more than 30 states passed laws establishing Americanization programs. Connecticut even created a Department of Americanization. The federal government also became active, with the Bureau of Naturalization and the Bureau of Education competing vigorously to further their own assimilation efforts. By 1921 some 3,526 states, cities, towns, and communities were participating in Bureau of Naturalization programs.

The central institution for Americanization was the public school system. Indeed, public schools had been created in the nineteenth century and shaped in considerable part by the perceived need to Americanize and Protestantize immigrants. "People looked to education as the best way to transmit Anglo-American Protestant values and to prevent the collapse of republican institutions," summarizes historian Carl Kaestle. In 1921–22, as many as a thousand communities conducted "special public school programs to Americanize the foreign-born." Between 1915 and 1922, more than 1 million immigrants enrolled in such programs. School systems "saw public education as an instrument to create a unified society out of the multiplying diversity created by immigration," reports Reed Ueda.

Without these Americanizing activities starting in the early 1890s, America's dramatic 1924 reduction in immigration would in all likelihood have been imposed much earlier. Americanization made immigration acceptable to Americans. The success of the movement was manifest when the immigrants and their children rallied to the colors and marched off to fight their country's wars. In World War II in particular, racial, ethnic, and class identities were subordinated to national loyalty, and the identification of Americans with their country reached its highest point in history.

National identity then began to fade. In 1994, 19 scholars of American history and politics were asked to evaluate the level of American unity in 1930, 1950, 1970, and 1990. The year 1950, according to these experts, was the "zenith of American national integration." Since then "cultural and political fragmentation has increased" and "conflict emanating from intensified ethnic and religious consciousness poses the main current challenge to the American nation."

Fanning all of this was the new popularity among liberal elites of the doctrines of "multiculturalism" and "diversity," which elevate subnational, racial, ethnic, cultural, gender, and other identities over national identity, and encourage immigrants to maintain dual identities, loyalties, and citizenships. Multiculturalism is basically an anti-Western ideology. Multiculturalists argue that white Anglo America has suppressed other cultural alternatives,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and that America in the future should not be a society with a single pervasive national culture, but instead should become a "tossed salad" of many starkly different ingredients.

In sharp contrast to their predecessors, American political leaders have recently promoted measures consciously designed to weaken America's cultural identity and strengthen racial, ethnic, and other identities. President Clinton called for a "great revolution" to liberate Americans from their dominant European culture. Vice President Gore interpreted the nation's motto, *E pluribus unum* (Out of many, one), to mean "out of one, many." By 1992, even some liberals like Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. were warning that the "ethnic upsurge" which had begun "as a gesture of protest against the Anglocentric culture" had become "a cult, and today it threatens to become a counter-revolution against the original theory of America as 'one people,' a common culture, a single nation."

Newscom.com/Zuma Press

A U.S. Border Patrol agent watches over the Rio Grande in Texas.

These efforts by members of government to deconstruct the nation they led are, quite possibly, without precedent in human history. And important parts of academia, the media, business, and the professions joined them in the effort. A study by Paul Vitz of 22 school texts published in the 1970s and 1980s for grades three and six found that only five out of 670 stories and articles in these readers had "any patriotic theme." All five dealt with the American Revolution; none had "anything to do with American history since 1780." In four of the five stories the principal person is a girl, in three the same girl, Sybil Ludington. The 22 books lack any story "featuring Nathan Hale, Patrick Henry, Daniel Boone, or Paul Revere's ride." "Patriotism," Vitz concludes, "is close to nonexistent" in these readers.

The deconstructionist coalition, however, does not include most Americans. In poll after poll, majorities of Americans reject ideas and measures that would lessen national identity and promote subnational identities. Everyday Americans remain deeply patriotic, nationalistic in their outlook, and committed to their national culture, creed, and identity. A major gap has thus developed between portions of our elite and the bulk of our populace over what America is and should be.

Popular opposition to the ideology of multiculturalism developed quickly. During the 1990s, bureaucrats and judges, including some who had earlier backed racial categorization and preferences, began to moderate and even reverse their views. New organizations of scholars and teachers grew up to counter efforts to rewrite American history and school curricula. Energetic "one America" activists and organizations forced votes to end affirmative action and bilingual education.

The American public is overwhelmingly opposed to official multilingualism. In 1986, 81 percent of the American public believed that "anyone who wants to stay in this country should have to learn English." In a 1988 poll, 76 percent of Californians rated speaking English as "very important" in making one an American, and 61 percent believed that the right to vote should be limited to English speakers. In a 1998 poll, 52 percent of Americans strongly supported, and 25 percent somewhat supported, legislation that would require all school instruction to be in English. Despite this clear consensus, legislators have been squeamish on language issues, which has forced proponents of American unity to use ballot initiatives to set the law.

From 1980 to 2000, 12 popular referenda were staged by pro-English or anti-bilingual-education groups. In all these cases political elites and establishment institutions like local newspapers and TV stations, local politicians, universities, labor unions, business federations, and religious groups overwhelmingly opposed the measures, as did heads of minority pressure groups. Yet the average vote in favor of pro-English positions was 65 percent.

In 1988, Presidential candidates George H. W. Bush and Michael Dukakis both opposed the official-English measures on the ballot in Florida, Arizona, and Colorado. In Florida the proposed constitutional amendment was also opposed by the governor, the attorney general, the secretary of state, the *Miami Herald*, the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce, and many Hispanic organizations, yet it was approved by 86 percent of the voters and carried every county. In the bitter contest in Arizona, an official-English initiative was opposed by the governor, two former governors, both United States senators, the mayor of Phoenix, the Arizona Judges Association, the League of Arizona Cities and Towns, Jewish leaders, and the Arizona Ecumenical Council, yet it passed. In Colorado, the English measure was opposed by the governor, the lieutenant governor, the attorney general, the mayor of Denver, one United States senator, the leading Catholic bishops, the *Denver Post*, the state Democratic Party (the Republicans took no position), and Jesse Jackson. It was approved by 64 percent of Colorado's voters.

As one Stanford University professor commented, "the U.S. English leadership is probably justified in claiming that 'no one is for us but the people.'" A very similar pattern has appeared in referenda on bilingual education. Despite almost universal opposition among elites, 61 percent of California's voters (including majorities in every county except San Francisco) approved an end to bilingual education in 1998.

September 11 gave a major boost to the supporters of America

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as one people with a common culture. Yet the war to deconstruct our culture has not ended. It remains unresolved today whether America will be a nation of individuals with equal rights sharing a common culture, or an association of racial, ethnic, and cultural groups held together by hopes for material gains.

The Mexican naturalization rate is lower than that of almost every other immigrant group.

In this new environment, will today's immigrants assimilate as earlier waves did? Recent immigrants from India, Korea, Japan, and the Philippines—whose educational profiles more closely approximate those of American natives—have generally assimilated rapidly. Indians and Filipinos, of course, have been helped by their knowledge of English.

Latin American immigrants, particularly those from Mexico, have been slower in approximating American norms. In part this is a result of the large numbers and geographical concentration of Mexican arrivals. Also, the educational levels of Mexican immigrants and their descendants have been below that of other immigrants, and below the level of American natives. Moreover, Mexican activists have worked against assimilation.

Muslims, particularly Arab Muslims, also seem slow to assimilate compared with earlier groups. Elsewhere in the world, Muslim minorities have often proved to be "indigestible" by non-Muslim societies. A study of Los Angeles Muslims found ambivalent attitudes toward America: "A significant number of Muslims, particularly immigrant Muslims, do not have close ties or loyalty to the United States." When asked whether they had "closer ties or loyalty to Islamic countries (perhaps your country of birth) or the United States," 45 percent of the immigrants said Islamic countries, 10 percent the United States, and 32 percent "about the same." Among American-born Muslims, 19 percent chose Islamic countries, 38 percent the United States, and 28 percent about the same. Fifty-seven percent of the immigrants and 32 percent of the American-born Muslims said that "if given the choice, [they] would leave the United States to live in an Islamic country." Fifty-two percent of the interviewees said it was very important and 24 percent said it was quite important to replace public schools with Islamic schools.

The current wave of immigration to the U.S. has increased with each decade. During the 1960s, 3 million people entered the country. During the 1980s, 7 million people did. In the 1990s it was over 9 million. The foreign-born percentage of the American population, which was a bit above 5 percent in 1960, more than doubled to close to 12 percent in 2002.

The United States thus appears to face something new in its history: persistent high levels of immigration. The two earlier waves of heavy immigration (1840s and '50s; and 1880s to 1924) subsided as a result of world events. But absent a serious war or economic collapse, over 1 million immigrants are likely to enter the United States each year for the indefinite future. This may cause assimilation to be slower and less complete than it was for past waves of immigration.

That seems to be happening with today's immigration from Latin America, especially from Mexico. Mexican immigration is leading toward a demographic "reconquista" of areas Americans took from Mexico by force in the 1830s and 1840s. Mexican immigration is very different from immigration from other sources, due to its sheer size, its illegality, and its other special qualities. [Editor's Note: See Mr. Huntington's earlier feature article on this subject: "The Special Case of Mexican Immigration," *The American Enterprise*, December 2000.]

One reason Mexican immigration is special is simply because there are now so very many arrivals (legal and illegal) from that one country. Thanks to heavy Mexican inflows, for the very first time in history a majority of U.S. immigrants now speak a single non-English language (Spanish). The impact of today's large flow of Mexican immigrants is reinforced by other factors: the proximity of their country of origin; their geographical concentration within the U.S.; the improbability of their inflow ending or being significantly reduced; the decline of the assimilation movement; and the new enthusiasm of many American elites for multiculturalism, bilingualism, affirmative action, and cultural diversity instead of cultural unity. In addition, the Mexican government now actively promotes the export of its people to the United States while encouraging them to maintain their Mexican culture, identity, and nationality. President Vicente Fox regularly refers to himself as the president of 123 million Mexicans, 100 million in Mexico, 23 million in the United States. The net result is that Mexican immigrants and their progeny have not assimilated into American society as other immigrants did in the past, or as many other immigrants are doing now.

The lags in Mexican assimilation are clearly visible in current American social statistics. Language, education, occupation and income, citizenship, intermarriage, and identity are key criteria that can be used to gauge assimilation, and in these areas Mexicans generally lag behind other immigrants, past and present. In 2003, 89 percent of white and 80 percent of black Americans had graduated from high school, compared to 57 percent of Hispanics. In 2000, 34 percent of Mexican immigrants were high school graduates; subsequent generations of Mexican-Americans continued to lag in educational achievement. The economic position of Mexican immigrants and U.S.-born Mexicans parallels their lagging educational attainment.

The naturalization rate is one important indicator of political assimilation and is lower for Mexicans than for almost any other immigrant group. In 1990, for instance, the naturalization rate for Mexican immigrants in the country at least ten years was 32 percent, in contrast to 86 percent for immigrants from the Soviet Union, 82 percent for arrivals from Ireland, 82 percent for Poles, and 78 percent for Greek immigrants.

As for identity—the ultimate criterion of assimilation—the available evidence is limited and, in some respects, contradictory. Ron Unz states that "a quarter or more of Hispanics have shifted from their traditional Catholic faith to Protestant evangelical

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

churches"—unquestionably a significant manifestation of assimilation. Other evidence, however, suggests a weak identification with America on the part of Mexican immigrants and their descendants. "The biggest problem we have is a cultural clash," the president of the National Council of La Raza said in 1995, "a clash between our values and the values in American society," the former being superior to the latter. One study of 1989-1990 survey data on Mexican-Americans found that "the longer the immigrants were in the United States, the less likely they were to agree that everyone should learn English," and "those more incorporated into mainstream society, the native-born Mexican-Americans, are less supportive of core American values than are the foreign-born." The growing numbers of Hispanics, according to a 1999 report, "help 'Latinize' many Hispanic people who are finding it easier to affirm their heritage...they find strength in numbers, as younger generations grow up with more ethnic pride and as a Latin influence starts permeating fields like entertainment, advertising, and politics."

The expansion of the Hispanic media encourages Hispanics to maintain their language and culture. The Mexican-owned Univision is the largest Spanish-language television network in the United States. Its nightly news audiences in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago rival those of ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, and FOX. The number of Spanish-language newspapers in the United States more than doubled from 166 in 1990 to 344 in 2003.

Problems in digesting Mexican immigrants would be less urgent if Mexicans were just one group among many. But because legal and illegal Mexicans comprise such a large proportion of our current immigrant flow, any assimilation problems arising within their ranks shape our immigrant experience. The overwhelming influence of Mexicans on America's immigration flow becomes clearly visible if one poses a thought experiment. What if Mexican immigration to the U.S. somehow abruptly stopped, while other immigration continued as at present? In such a case, illegal entries in particular would diminish dramatically. Agriculture and other businesses in the southwest would be disrupted, but the wages of low-income Americans would rise. Debates over the use of Spanish, and whether English should be made the official language of state and national governments, would fade away. Bilingual education and the controversies it spawns would decline. So also would controversies over welfare and other benefits for immigrants. The debate over whether immigrants are an economic burden on state and federal governments would be decisively resolved in the negative. The average education and skills of the immigrants coming to America would rise to levels unprecedented in American history. Our inflow of immigrants would again become highly diverse, which would increase incentives for all immigrants to learn English and absorb American culture. The possibility of a split between a predominantly Spanish-speaking America and English-speaking America would disappear, and with it a major potential threat to the cultural and possibly political integrity of the United States.

A glimpse of what a splintering of America into English- and Spanish-speaking camps might look like can be found in current day Miami. Since the 1960s, first Cuban and then other Latin American immigrants have converted Miami from a fairly normal American city into a heavily Hispanic city. By 2000 Spanish was not just the language spoken in most homes in Miami, it was also the principal language of commerce, business, and politics. The local media and communications are increasingly Hispanic. In 1998, a Spanish language television station became the number one station watched by Miamians—the first time a foreign-language station achieved that rating in a major American city.

The changing linguistic and ethnic makeup of Miami is reflected in the recent history of the *Miami Herald*, one of the most respected papers in the United States. The owners of the *Herald* first attempted to appeal to Hispanic readers and advertisers with a Spanish supplement, but this attempt to reach Hispanics and Anglos simultaneously, failed. Between 1960 and 1989, the percentage of Miami households reading the *Herald* fell from 80 percent to 40 percent. Eventually the *Herald* had to set up a separate Spanish paper, *El Nuevo Herald*.

Is Miami the future for Los Angeles and the southwest generally? In the end, the results could be similar: the creation of a large, distinct, Spanish-speaking community with economic and political resources sufficient to sustain its own Hispanic identity apart from the national identity of other Americans, and also sufficient to significantly influence American politics, government, and society. The process by which this might come about, however, is different. The Hispanization of Miami has been led from the top down by successful Cuban and other Central and South American immigrants. In the southwest, the overwhelming bulk of Spanish-speaking immigrants are Mexican, and have been poor, unskilled, and poorly educated. It appears that many of their offspring are likely to be similar. The pressures toward Hispanization in the southwest thus come from below, whereas those in South Florida came from above.

The persistence of Mexican immigration and the large absolute numbers of Mexicans in the southwest reduce the incentives for cultural assimilation. Mexican-Americans no longer think of themselves as members of a small minority who must accommodate the dominant group and adopt its culture. As their numbers increase, they become more committed to their own ethnic identity and culture. Sustained numerical expansion promotes cultural consolidation, and leads them not to minimize but to glory in the differences between their society and America generally.

The continuation of high levels of Mexican and Hispanic immigration and low rates of assimilation of these immigrants into American society and culture could eventually change America into a country of two languages, two cultures, and two peoples. This will not only transform America. It will also have deep consequences for Hispanics—who will be in America but not of the America that has existed for centuries.

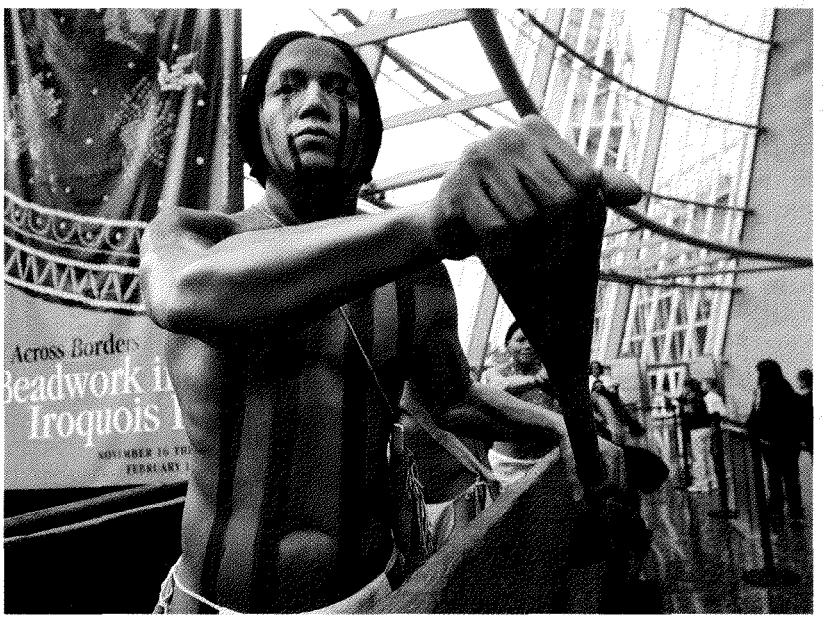
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FESTERING PROBLEM OF INDIAN "SOVEREIGNTY"

The Supreme Court ducks. Congress sleeps. Indians rule.

BY JAN GOLAB

Foxwoods, the King Kong of casinos, was brought to Connecticut with dreams of untold riches. Now, locals are trying to kill the beast. Foxwoods and its sister institution, Mohegan Sun, (the world's two most profitable casinos), pay host state Connecticut a hefty $400 million a year—one fourth of the take. Yet in 2003, Connecticut became the first state in the country to pass legislation designed to halt any future casino development. The measure passed unanimously, not exactly a ringing endorsement for Indian gambling institutions. "Another gambling palace anywhere in the state would be disastrous," the *Hartford Courant* warned in an editorial. "The state must stop this slot-machine tsunami."



Awash in tribal money: a model canoe on display inside the $193 million Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center in Connecticut.

Newscom.com/Mario Tama/Getty Images

Jeff Benedict is president of the Connecticut Alliance Against Casino Expansion, and the author of *Without Reservation*, a book about the Mashantucket Pequot Indians and their Foxwoods casino. "Casino money costs us a lot more than it's worth," Benedict argues. He recites a litany of woes: Casinos have a negative impact on roads, water and land consumption, fire, police, ambulance service, air pollution, and traffic. Local school systems are flooded with the children of low-income casino workers, who also create a shortage of affordable housing. And there are social costs—increased bankruptcies, foreclosures, divorces, child abuse, and crime. "The closer a community gets to a casino, the higher those numbers are," says Benedict. "Who pays for that? The local and state governments."

Casinos cause property devaluation and lost taxes when businesses and lands are taken over by tax-exempt tribes. While casino owners argue that they create jobs and help neighboring businesses, the casinos (which, as Indian enterprises, do not have to pay the same taxes or abide by the same laws as other establishments) actually damage competing businesses nearby—restaurants, bars, hotels, retail outlets. "When the Indian casino comes to town, nobody else does well," says Benedict.

Except for the lawyers. The Pequots have subjected their host state and local governments to a decade of legal battles over tribal land annexation, environmental and land-use regulations, and sovereign immunity from lawsuits and police jurisdiction. Local communities have spent millions litigating against further casino expansion. Twelve more would-be "tribes" are petitioning the Bureau of Indian Affairs for federal tribal status, and new land claims threaten over one third of Connecticut's real estate.

Another book on Foxwoods, *Hitting the Jackpot*, by Wall Street reporter Brett Fromson, explains how a "tribe" that disappeared 300 years ago resurrected itself and won a gambling monopoly now worth $1.2 billion a year. Like Benedict, Fromson concludes that the re-created Pequot tribe is illegitimate, a polit-

California reporter Jan Golab has written about Indian issues since 1983. His earlier in-depth exploration of Indian gambling appeared in the January/February 2004 issue of The American Enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ical contrivance based on sympathy and political correctness, not reality or common sense—"the greatest legal scam."

Next door in New York, the situation is even worse. The Empire State approved the Oneida Nation's Turning Stone Casino near Oneida ten years ago, without first obtaining any agreement for the Nation to share its revenues ($232 million in 2001) with the state, or any agreement to settle the tribe's claim to 250,000 acres of central New York land. Subsequent casino compacts with other tribes have been haphazard and subject to ongoing renegotiation, with New York collecting money from some, not from others.

The Oneidas have used their casino cash machine to buy 16,000 acres of land and businesses, including nearly all of the area's gasoline and convenience stores. Once they are Indian-owned, the land and businesses go off the tax rolls. The business impact and loss of property and sales taxes has some local communities teetering on bankruptcy. "The tribes hurt us in a number of ways," explains Scott Peterman, president of Upstate Citizens for Equality. "They buy a property and refuse to pay property tax because they say they are re-acquiring their ancient reservation. Then they open a business on that property and refuse to collect sales tax."

By undercutting all non-Indian businesses that collect taxes, tribal sales of gasoline and cigarettes alone cost New York state millions of dollars in annual taxes. The Supreme Court ruled in 1994 that states could tax tribal sales to non-native customers, but so far, New York has failed to enforce this over Indian resistance. One tribe, the Onondaga, sells an estimated 20,000 cartons of cigarettes every week, or $26 million worth a year. Governor George Pataki tried to collect in 1997, but he backed down when Indian protestors blocked the New York State Thruway. Last year, the state legislature ordered Pataki to begin collecting the taxes, which it conservatively estimated would amount to $165 million in 2003 and $330 million in 2004. The *Syracuse Post-Standard* reported: "Indian Cig Sales cost NY $436M." Another study estimated that New York tribes cost the state a total of $895 million last year. Still, the tab remains open.

The state with the most tribal casinos—82—is Oklahoma, where tribes rake in as much as $1.2 billion a year—and the state doesn't get a cent. Oklahoma Indians, who comprise 7 percent of the state population, have become the most powerful political force there. Meanwhile, officials estimate that Oklahoma's 39 tribes cost the state $500 million a year—in lost property taxes, lost revenues on tax-free cigarettes, and lost excise taxes and tag fees from cars sold by reservation dealerships. That's nearly the equivalent of the state's 2003 budgetary shortfall, enough to pay for 17,000 teachers. Meanwhile, the state's billion-dollar racetrack industry, which does pay taxes, is teetering on the edge of bankruptcy, and communities are mired in litigation with cash-flush tribes over land and water rights.

How can Congress create a government within a state, with powers that Congress itself could never possess?

As Connecticut, New York, and Oklahoma wrestle to control their Indian casinos, California's casinos are rapidly expanding, and many other states, like Pennsylvania and Maryland, are just gearing up. Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's legacy will largely be a matter of whether or not he allows the Golden State to become the new Nevada. With their state monopoly on gambling, California Indians could eventually become the richest people on earth. Their 54 casinos are already raking in $5 billion a year, which isn't far behind the entire Las Vegas area ($7.7 billion), and they are pushing for more. With 107 federally recognized Indian reservations and rancherias—more than anywhere else in the country—California could easily surpass Nevada as the nation's gambling capital in the next few years.

Yet tribal chairmen blast the California governor for suggesting that they "pay their fair share." They insist that: "Governments cannot tax other governments!" They insist they are "sovereign."

"Sovereign" usually means "independent." American Indians, however, are completely dependent on their host governments—for roads, power, water, fire and police protection, schools, universities, hospitals, and health care facilities. "The technical term for Indian reservations is 'domestic dependent nations,'" explains one legislative analyst. "They are not foreign governments. They have no foreign policy powers. They are not allowed to sell their land to anyone outside the U.S. and they are not allowed to maintain relations with any foreign nation. To regard them as being like foreign nations inside our nation is very problematic. How can Congress create a government within a state, with powers that Congress itself could never possess?"

The notion that American Indian tribes should be treated like Canada or France, as some tribal leaders assert, offends common sense. "A nation within the nation" is what they claim to be, but it is not even close to a reality. If they are independent nations, why have Indians been allowed to donate over $150 million to U.S. political campaigns and become our nation's most influential political special interest group?

Californians have already shown their disgust for the "pay-to-play" politics that linked Indians to ousted governor Gray Davis and his lieutenant governor Cruz Bustamante, who did the Indians' bidding while taking $12 million of their cash. Experts say that is only the tip of the iceberg. Senator Barbara Boxer (D-California) and Representatives George Miller (D-Richmond), Mary Bono (R-Palm Springs), Hilda Solis (D-East L.A.), and Joe Baca (D-San Bernardino) have long served as legislative activists to expand tribal sovereignty. They have pushed through legislation to recognize "tribes" so they can avoid a lengthy and complicated federal recognition process that includes oversight by the governor and secretary of the interior. This form of "reservation shopping" via sympathetic legislation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is responsible for many new gambling resorts.

Senator Boxer pushed a bill through Congress granting federal recognition to the Federated Coast Miwoks of Graton Rancheria, a small landless "tribe," after receiving assurances they would not open a casino. But then the tribe hired a team of advisers, including Boxer's son Doug, and announced plans for a massive $100 million Nevada-financed casino and resort in California's wine country. Four city council members in Rohnert Park, the proposed site of the resort, are now facing a grassroots recall for selling out to the Indians.

Another small tribe, the 70-member Ione Band of Miwok Indians, had no interest in pursuing a casino until the tribe was hijacked by officials from the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. These agents, in a move not uncommon in the murky world of Indian politics, opened the tribe's membership rolls against the wishes of the tribal leadership and added 450 new members, including the BIA officials themselves and their families. These new "tribal members" then called for an election and overthrew the existing tribal leadership. The BIA officials not only made themselves members of a tribe they were administering, they took it over—for the purpose of promoting (and profiting from) a $100 million casino in Plymouth, California. Four members of Congress have called for an investigation into the Ione Miwok takeover.

Corruption like this seems the inevitable consequence so long as Indians are allowed to operate outside American law under a claim of tribal sovereignty. A coalition of 18 attorneys general from western states recently identified "corruption on tribal lands" as their number one concern, even over international terrorism. Many federally identified "high intensity drug trafficking areas" are located on tribal lands. Immigrant smuggling is also a serious problem on reservations that adjoin our international borders with Canada and Mexico. Authorities are also concerned that Indian casino cash makes a tempting target for international terrorists who need to launder money. With revenues of $14 billion last year, Indian gaming is a prime target for money cleaners of all sorts.

When gambling isn't properly regulated it attracts money laundering, loan sharking, drugs, and organized crime. Investigators with the federal Indian Gaming Commission are able to make only occasional visits to the more than 241 Indian gaming operations across the country. The Commission has only two investigators and one auditor for the entire West Coast. John Hensley, the chairman of the California Gambling Control Commission under Governor Davis, resigned in frustration due to a lack of funds (and his outrage over Davis's promise that if he was not recalled as governor he would allow the tribes to pick two new members for the Commission).

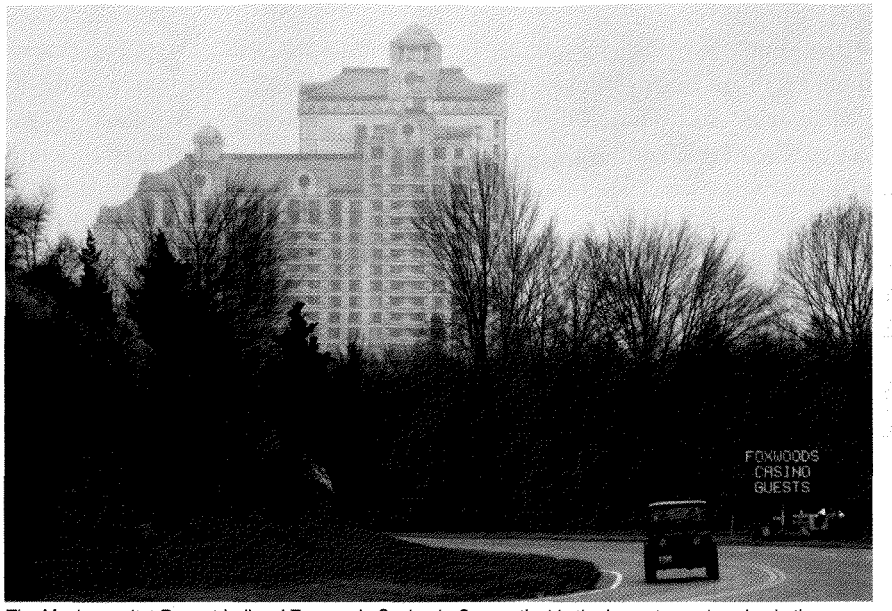
This lack of oversight is a recipe for disaster. "We certainly would not let private casinos in Nevada self-regulate," notes Whittier Law School professor and national gambling expert Nelson Rose. Since 1980, more than 130 state and local officials have been drawn into gambling corruption scandals, according to a paper prepared by the Library of Congress. A variety of scandals has already touched tribes throughout the country, and law enforcement insiders predict that worse is yet to come. Concerns are heightened due to the industry's newfound political influence. Some tribal leaders have already been indicted for engineering illegal campaign contributions.

Investors in a Rincon tribe operation in San Diego County were accused of plotting to launder more than $2 million for a Pittsburgh crime family. Seventeen people were indicted, including a member of the Rincon tribal council. Ten people associated with Chicago crime boss John DiFonzo and a San Diego mobster were convicted of racketeering and extortion in another attempt to take over a tribal gambling hall. Members of the New York Seneca Nation are facing a RICO indictment for smuggling untaxed cigarettes. The Bureau of Indian Affairs says illegal drugs have deeply infiltrated Indian communities. In southern Arizona, $1.8 million in marijuana was seized in a single incident on the Tohono O'odham reservation. An estimated 1,500 illegal Mexican immigrants a day also cross the border into that 2.8 million-acre reservation. The Akwesasne Reservation on the U.S.-Canadian border, according to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, is "a major smuggling hub for goods illegally transported in and out of Canada from the U.S., or vice-versa—including narcotics, firearms, alcohol, tobacco, and illegal aliens." The movement of aliens there and in Arizona is considered a threat to homeland security. New York's Mohawk tribe was charged in 1999 with smuggling drugs, guns, and illegal aliens—including associates of Osama bin Laden—for as much as $47,000 a head. These sorts of problems will recur with increasing frequency in the future unless their true root—the non-applicability of standing U.S. laws on Indian lands due to claims of Native American sovereignty—is challenged.

"The debate over Indian sovereignty may seem abstract," explains one analyst, "but it gets very concrete when a state suddenly loses authority over a major portion of its land. Reservation shopping basically gives wealthy gambling tribes the ability to shrink counties and states"—and to place important personal actions and economic transactions beyond the reach of American law. Throughout the nation, whenever U.S. citizens battle tribes over problems with land, water, zoning disputes, personal injuries, firings, broken contracts, or other issues, the claim of tribal sovereignty often intervenes. As tribal governments expand, local governments lose their political power to protect their citizens, some of whom find themselves ruined by tribal sovereignty claims—like the rancher who lost all his water to a new tribal golf course and resort.

The Citizens Equal Rights Alliance and United Property Owners, umbrella organizations encompassing hundreds of grassroots groups affected by Indian sovereignty claims, represent some 3.5 million citizens and business and property owners affected by America's 550-plus Indian reservations. There are also independent organizations in 22 states, like One Nation in Oklahoma, Upstate Citizens for Equality in New York, and Stand Up for California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Newscom.com/Mario Tama/Getty Images

The Mashantucket Pequot Indians' Foxwoods Casino in Connecticut is the largest resort casino in the world, with 315,000 square feet of gaming space in a 4.7 million square foot complex.

Activists in this rapidly growing anti-sovereignty movement feel betrayed by their elected leaders. Indian sovereignty, they say, is a profoundly flawed special body of federal law—some say an outright scam—that creates bogus tribes, legalizes race-based monopolies, creates a special class of super-citizens immune to the laws that govern others, and Balkanizes America. "Sovereign rights based on race for a few American citizens is not, and will never be, reconcilable with the equality and civil rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution to all citizens," says Scott Peterman, of Upstate Citizens for Equality. "The concepts of equal rights, equal opportunities, equality under the law, and equal responsibilities for all citizens should not be bargained away by our politicians."

Many say that sovereignty is a concept from another age that no longer works today. "It goes back a century to when native populations had been dispossessed," explains former California senator Pete Wilson, "to when the U.S. was largely an agricultural nation and we did not have the kind of economy we have today." Wilson says that when the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) was enacted in 1988, it didn't get nearly the attention it deserved. "A lot of people [in Congress] voted for it thinking that it amounted to little more than Bingo on reservations.... They didn't see it as a commercial enterprise that would transform reservations and their surrounding communities."

Most analysts concur that IGRA is a terrible law—vague, fuzzy, and unclear. "Congress should have spelled out much more clearly what the tribes are allowed to do," explains one analyst. "IGRA has subsequently been interpreted by the courts to mean that a state can pass a ballot initiative granting a lucrative monopoly on gambling, based solely on race, within a state that does not otherwise allow gambling. It defies the basic principles of equal protection, and gives cause to wonder. Should we give Hispanics the liquor industry? Should blacks get cigarettes? What about the Asian boat people?"

IGRA became a mechanism for the gambling industry to enter states where gambling had been illegal for more than a century, allowing it to operate outside the legal jurisdiction of the state governments. It pitted tribes against tribes, and tribal leaders against their own members, and created impossible entanglements of governance and jurisdiction. IGRA essentially created an attractive investment opportunity for the gaming industry, much as minority-contracting rules created an industry out of finding black and Hispanic figurehead partners with which to pursue government contracts. The potential gambling revenues made it attractive for marginal groups to seek tribal status, specifically for the purpose of opening a gaming franchise. "The groups in some cases are so marginal it's almost laughable, "says one legislative analyst. "Often they are subdivisions of actual tribes—the left-fork wing of the old river Indian tribe. It's not about tribal identity. What they really want is a casino."

Experts contend that Congress never intended sovereign status for every parcel of land granted to Indians. The small California rancherias, for example, were meant to host housing projects for landless Indians. One such group of federal housing recipients-turned-Indian-tribe, the Auburns, have used their new sovereign status to open the massive Thunder Valley casino near Sacramento. The Auburns are descendants of 40 Indians who were set up on a few dozen acres of public housing in 1910. "Do you really think Congress intended for them to be a sovereign nation over which state law would have no force?" asks one legislative analyst who specializes in Indian law.

Scott Peterman says the Indian sovereignty problem will ultimately have to be solved by Congress, a sentiment echoed by many other observers across the nation. "They are the ones who created the mess," says Peterman. He believes Congress should terminate tribal sovereignty definitively. "The irony is, the tribes claim they need sovereignty to preserve their culture, but they use it to build casinos. They talk about 'mother earth,' but they are more than willing to trade land for slot machines. Many tribal governments are so corrupt they are a bigger enemy to Indian culture than anybody. The Amish, Quakers, and Mennonites preserve their culture better than any Indian tribe, and they do it while paying taxes. Indians don't need sovereignty, or a whole federal bureau, to maintain their culture."

For many years, the Supreme Court avoided the big questions and made up Indian law by carving off issues piecemeal. In 1998, the Court concluded that the doctrine of tribal sovereign immunity was outdated, but it also concluded that Congress, not the courts, needed to fix it.

President Bush has at least moved to halt the march toward expanded sovereignty. Several tribes pushed President Clinton

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to enact more-liberal rules that would have made it even easier for tribes to reservation shop. President Bush withdrew those relaxed rules. Tom Grey, director of the National Coalition Against Gambling Expansion, advised President Bush in a 2003 letter that "if pending approval of more than 200 self-described 'Indian Tribes' is not denied, there will be a veritable explosion of gambling emporiums throughout America, threatening local economies, increasing addiction and concomitant criminality, and disrupting social and political stability."

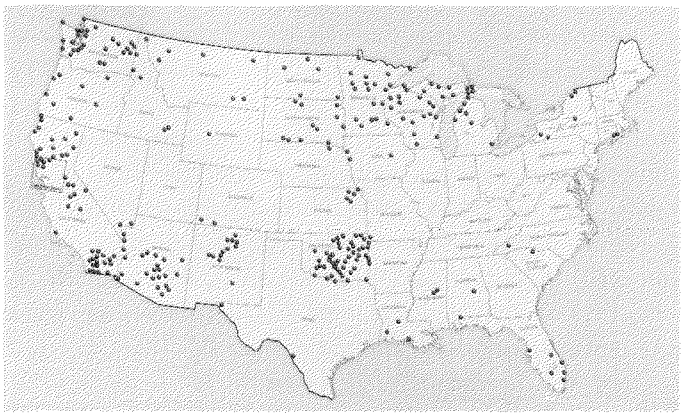
When it comes to sovereignty, everyone seems to agree that Congress will eventually have to "mend it or end it." Congress has the power to shape and re-shape the relevant laws as it sees fit. The problem is a lack of will, due largely to ignorance or fear of the fast-growing political clout of tiny gambling-enriched tribes who have shown a great willingness to use their lucre for political donations.

Currently, nearly all Indian legislation is controlled by pro-tribal forces, particularly in the Senate. Hawaiian Daniel Inouye, the ranking minority member of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee, and Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado, chairman of that committee, along with Daniel Akaka from Hawaii and Arizona's John McCain, have virtual veto power over any Indian-related bill. "I believe we are headed for a reconsideration of tribal sovereignty," states one public official who asked not to be identified, "but it won't happen until Senators Inouye and Campbell are no longer in office."

And while many in Congress are having second thoughts about tribal sovereignty, others continue to work to expand it, sometimes with the enticement of ample campaign donations. Senator Elizabeth Dole has a bill calling for recognition of the Lumbee Nation of North Carolina, and fellow Republican, Senator George Allen, is backing a measure to recognize six new tribes in Virginia. The Native Hawaiian Bill would grant tribal status to some 400,000 Hawaiians, creating the biggest tribe in the country and virtual apartheid in the fiftieth state. "Tribal sovereignty is going to be a hard thing to beat because the politicians are ignorant," says Scott Peterman. "They think sovereignty is good for the Indians, but it isn't. It's good for the tribal governments, not for individual Indians."

In 1993, Bill Clinton's head of the BIA, Aida Deer, decreed that every one of Alaska's 231 native villages was a tribe, thereby doubling the state's tribes with the stroke of a pen. Sovereignty advocates now want each village to be fully recognized as a sovereign nation. "That course of action cannot succeed," Alaska Senator Ted Stevens told the Alaska Federation of Natives at its annual convention in 2003. "If those villages are recognized as sovereign nations, the future of Alaska as a state is in jeopardy: Alaska would ultimately encompass a huge collection of independent tribal nations, unconnected by a state government and unprotected by the federal system."

Stevens, who championed Alaskan statehood back in the 1950s and became a senator in 1968, added a rejoinder to opponents who called him a bigot for defending that line of argument. "There are reasonable differences of opinion. But to be called a racist after more than 50 years of dedicated service to Alaskans, particularly Alaskan natives, is something I will not forget. It is a stain on my soul."



Indian tribal casinos existing as of January 2003. Many more have been launched in the year and a half since.

Despite Arnold Schwarzenegger's success in standing up to the Indian tribes of California, most elected officials are afraid to address the issue of sovereignty. Like Social Security and illegal immigration, some view it as a "third rail" issue—touch it and you die. Some Indians insist that sovereignty is the essence of being an American Indian, so they respond to any questioning of sovereignty as a personal attack on Indians. Those who question sovereignty are frequently denounced as racist. Former Washington senator Slade Gorton was actually a defender of tribal sovereignty except when it trampled on non-Indian rights, and for even that mild reservation, he was branded "The Indian Fighter" and demagogued as racist, which contributed to his narrow defeat in 2000 by Maria Cantwell.

Because of the volatility of the sovereignty issue, more than a dozen senators and congressmen declined to be interviewed for this story. Many of their aides who did talk asked not to be identified. "Politicians are afraid to speak out and have their views seen in print," explains one activist, "because then tribes will spend big money to get them un-elected." Indeed, Indian tribes now spend more on elections than any other interest group in America.

"Tribal gaming has created a terrific inequality between tribes, and the people who have benefited are only a tiny percentage of American Indians," says one government official who asked not to be identified. "If you're a bogus six-member tribe with a fabulous location for a casino, all six of you get tremendously wealthy. But if you're a genuine, historic tribe in a remote location, like the Standing Rock Sioux of North Dakota, you accrue little or no benefit." Indeed, almost half of the nation's Indian population lives in five states—Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Oklahoma—that account for only a small percentage of Indian gaming revenues.

The same official is skeptical that any politician will have the guts to stand up to the Indians until everyday Americans are up in arms. He even bets that Governor Schwarzenegger will go belly-up on the issue. "I've seen too many elected officials

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

challenge the tribes, then gradually work their way back to an accommodation. At the end of the day, he'll be a blood brother."

Not everyone is so cynical, or afraid. Representatives Frank Wolf (R-VA) and Christopher Shays (R-CT) have long championed legislation to halt the headlong expansion of Indian gambling. Last February, they introduced a bill that would require all new gambling casinos to be approved by state legislatures. Wolf admits that the bill's chances right now are not good. "That's because many of our leaders still don't know there is a problem," he says. "That probably won't change until there is a great public outcry from communities around the country.... The media also needs to pick this up. The Indians are being exploited by gambling interests."

Another outspoken Congressman on the issue is Republican Ernest Istook of Oklahoma. "We have certainly reached a point where something needs to be done," he says. "But that's not the same as the point where people *recognize* that need, or are prepared to act on it." Istook has noticed a concerted effort by Indian interests to convince the public that the issue is beyond the reach of the democratic process. "There is often a misconception that nothing can be done. That's inaccurate. It is very clear that Congress has broad and unfettered authority to deal with these issues, and could do so if it were willing. Tribal sovereignty is subject to the jurisdiction of the Congress—which could change it, or even undo it altogether."

"The challenge is that sovereignty means different things to different people. What we need to do is follow the Constitutional standards of equal protection, for tribes and non-tribes. You will not solve the problems of Indian tribes by giving them a legal status different from everybody else. Secondly, we need to allow tribes to have control of their own assets so they have less temptation to resort to special treatment. Feelings of mistreatment often lead them to take unfair advantage with regard to sovereignty. And we need to create more economic opportunities that are not dependent on special status and treatment."

We are headed for more conflict, even disaster, says Istook, if we don't soon address this basic violation of fundamental American principles: In our recent dealings with Indians, Istook says, "we've created a system where some people have more rights than others, and that directly conflicts with American traditions and history. It not only attacks the principle of equal rights, it attacks the root of democratic governance. We need to use something stronger than guilt to resolve these issues."

Many experts believe it will take years before the inevitable day of reckoning on sovereignty finally reaches the halls of Congress. But the public mood is changing rapidly in certain places. Some observers believe this subject could mature into a bona fide political issue much sooner.

As executive director of United Property Owners and a national spokesperson for One Nation, Barb Lindsay represents more than 300,000 property owners, scores of grassroots community groups, dozens of local governments, and thousands of small businesses. Part Indian herself, Lindsay has been lobbying in Washington for ten years. She has emerged as one of the leading voices in the growing national movement challenging tribal sovereignty.

If Indians choose the endless warpath, some observers say, they will eventually lose the war, and "sovereignty."

"Five years ago, people didn't know anything about tribal sovereignty," Lindsay explains. "Indian gaming has really elevated the issue in terms of public awareness, and with elected officials and their staffs. A few years ago they were not very sympathetic to our cause, because all they knew was tribal positions. But with growing problems in states like Connecticut, California, Wisconsin, New York, Oregon, Washington, and Oklahoma, more Congressmen are having problems in their own districts. They see tribes running roughshod over local citizens, ignoring environment laws and land-use codes and water rights. Instead of the *Dances with Wolves* Hollywood mythology they've been sold, they are now facing the reality of dealing with a group of people who believe they are somehow above the law."

The true meaning of sovereignty, Lindsay says, is tax evasion. "It is no coincidence that the states now facing the biggest budget deficits are also the states with the largest number of tax-exempt Indian casinos and tax-evading tribal businesses. It is widely recognized that IGRA is being abused and Indian casino reservation shopping is undermining local, county, and state tax bases and changing community character and quality of life, while simultaneously denying local citizens a voice in how the future of their community will be shaped."

Others concur that America's tribes need to practice sovereignty in a way that is responsibly congruent with the laws of their "host nations" (state and local governments). If Indians choose the endless warpath, some observers say, they will eventually lose the war, and "sovereignty." This is difficult for some tribes to accept, because they have achieved their current success and financial bonanzas through two decades of aggressive court battles and relentless warfare with the states. But that war is over and they have won. They now need a new, cooperative strategy, or they may awaken resistance in their neighbors.

Many groups have been mistreated in history—blacks, Jews, Asians, Poles, the Irish. "Should each of these groups be given a sovereign land within the United States and allowed to govern as they choose, free from taxes that must be paid by others, and free to engage in activities denied to others?" asks Henry Lamb, chairman of Sovereignty International. "Americans are defined not by color, religion, or ethnicity, but by a belief in, and dedication to, the principles of freedom, as defined in our founding documents. As a nation, we seem to have forgotten this fundamental principle."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

So What's Happening in the REST of the Middle East?

A survey of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, and Libya

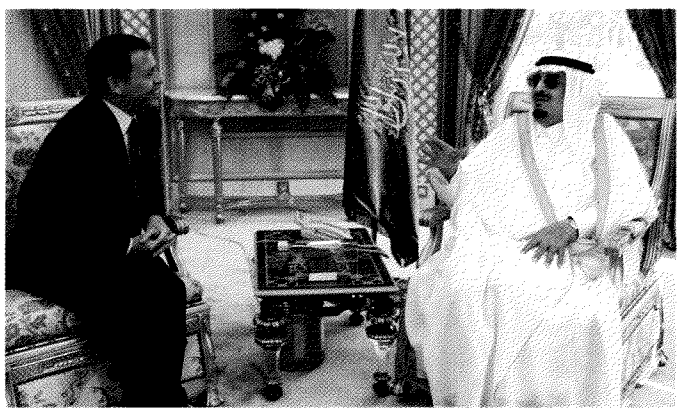
Saudi Arabia

A Successful Anomaly (So Far)

By Hume Horan

Of all the strange forms of nationhood that fill the world today, none stands out like Saudi Arabia. It is the only country named after a family—the Sauds, who have ruled in the Peninsula since the eighteenth century. In a world of competing ideologies, it is the only state that abjures them all, in favor of its version of Sunni Islam. And as for a constitution? The Saudis would reply, "Ours is the Koran, a constitution granted by God himself that will stand not just the test of time, but eternity."

Outside viewers, even critics, might agree that Saudi Arabia seems, up to now, a successful anomaly. In a particularly conflict-prone region of the world, it has survived intact the destabilizing inrush of untold wealth and the challenge of various contemporary ideologies. Communism, Baathism, Arab nationalism—all have come and gone. But today, Saudi Arabia, which controls two thirds of the world's oil resources, is threatened from within. It is challenged by jihadist Islam, the movement that includes al-Qaeda. Accordingly, a serious question for American leaders is: How much help can we expect from Saudi Arabia against a common threat which is, however, Muslim?



Jordan king Abdullah bin al-Hussein (l.) meets with Saudi King Fahd in Riyadh.

Newscom.com/Heather Stone/KRT

For much of the last century, U.S.-Saudi relations were mostly of interest to specialists. In the 1930s, American oil explorers and developers—no cross-cultural specialists they—nevertheless got the United States off on the right foot with a strange people in a strange land. In World War II, U.S. Army mapping experts charted the best air route across the peninsula to our forces in China-Burma-India. More recently, U.S. arabists during and after the Cold War tried to deal with the turbulence caused by Jamal Abdul Nasser and Arab nationalism.

When I arrived in the Kingdom in early 1972 as deputy chief of mission of the U.S. embassy in Jiddah, FDR's and King Abdul Aziz's 1945 meeting aboard the *USS Quincy* seemed almost a current affair, not history. The country was deeply conservative, but in a way that at the time seemed authentic and almost frictionless. Foreign diplomats and businessmen could live as Westerners in their compounds and enjoy folkloric forays into the town and countryside. The Saudi chief of police warned us, "I know the unspeakable things that go on in your Western compounds, but just keep them there—or I'll be forced to step in."

By the time I left Saudi Arabia in July 1977, Jiddah had become a city of cranes. They defined the urban landscape, as the U.S. Corps of Engineers went about its job of terraforming Jiddah, Riyadh, and other cities. Saudi Arabia was the new El Dorado, the new Seven Cities of Cibola. Oil prices had more than quadrupled after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War and the Arab oil boycott. Jiddah was awash with money and foreign dignitaries of every description. The battle for hotel space was as savage as that for contracts.

To the Saudis, the future looked bright. Their bugbear, Nasser, had died in 1972, and the disruptive force of Arab nationalism was dieseling out after the humiliation of the 1976 Arab-Israeli war. My Saudi friends were self-congratulatory, even smug, that the true faith had—no surprise—bested "godless, atheistic communism." In so many words, friends would ask: How could an ideology produced by a German Jew (Karl Marx) or another by some Arab Christian (Baath Party founder Michel Aflak) hold its own against the true essence of God's revelation? Nor did they believe Saudi society needed lessons in democracy from the morally ambiguous West. Saudis enjoyed the best of all democracies, i.e., "Islamic democracy," where all

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

citizens' views could be given a hearing through each of their personal links to power that remained functional and enduring in Saudi society. My friends were sure it was no accident that God had revealed his Koran to an Arabian in Arabia, and afterwards had blessed the Kingdom with such economic and social justification. Saudi Arabia's per capita income was close to rivaling that of the United States.

In those days, many of my Saudi friends saw the Kingdom as a theodicy, "an end of history." Some were astonished that I, who had extensive knowledge of and clearly some empathy for their culture, did not become a Muslim. The minister of defense, Prince Sultan, passed word that if I converted, he would give my son, born in 1975, Saudi citizenship. (I thanked the prince for his generous offer, but explained that I—however misguidedly—could not part with the faith of my fathers.)

The Saudis were not altogether mistaken in their self-congratulation. Their ideology had in fact stood the test of time and current challenges far better than the imported varieties. Their political system also—for those willing to look below the surface—had shown remarkable resilience. A good Foreign Ministry friend once explained that Westerners were wrong in supposing that there were no political parties in Saudi Arabia. There was a single, all-powerful party, one that operated far, far better than Nasser's comic-opera "Arab Socialist Union" or the "sclerotic communism of the USSR." That party was the royal family. It could count on the active loyalty—ensured by powerful blood ties, not ideology—of 10,000 princes easily. "Call them cadres if you wish." These princely ties extended throughout Saudi society through alliances with numerous notable and quasi-royal families. And all were further knit together by the knowledge that they sat atop the greatest source of geologic wealth ever vouchsafed to mankind—and by knowing that, should they fall out amongst themselves, their envious neighbors, especially Jordan, would snap up the pieces. "The result," I was told, "is a super-conductive network of command and control without parallel in the Arab world." I tended to agree. A mildly frank observation by a U.S. embassy officer about one of the royals elicited a warning within hours from the minister of the interior to the effect that the individual had better watch his tongue or leave the Kingdom.

Saudi rulers could also be wisely forbearing. "Not like that animal Saddam." King Faisal had publicly restored to favor a prominent dissident intellectual, after years of imprisonment. And during those years, Faisal had continued to pay the man's salary to his family—thus linking control with forbearance. My friend compared Faisal's style with that of the Caliph Muawiyah, who said, "If even a hair links me to another, should he pull, I will give, but when he ceases to pull, I will draw him in."

The extremists' seizure of the Mosque of Mecca in 1979, however, might have warned the Saudi government of problems inherent in making Islam a formal pillar of the state. But when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in the same year, the Saudis pushed ahead even more vigorously with their Islamic "public diplomacy." They stuck with what in their eyes was a winner.

In 1987, when I returned to Saudi Arabia as chief of mission, the Saudi government was proud to stand at the head of an anti-communist crusade for the liberation of Afghanistan, fueled by Saudi (and American) money and more than a few Saudi volunteers. I recall a visit to Riyadh in which then-CIA Director William Casey presented King Fahd with a shiny, detailed Kalashnikov. Its stock featured a brass plaque explaining that the weapon had been taken from the body of a Russian officer. Mr. Casey might as well have been giving the keys to the Kingdom of God itself. The king rose, flourished the weapon, and struck a martial pose. The last Soviet forces left Afghanistan in early 1989. The Kingdom could rightly share in the triumph.

Just two years later, in 1991, the U.S. military operations "Desert Shield" and "Desert Storm" again gave Saudis reason to see themselves as uniquely favored by God. We had (of course) dispatched a mighty army to rescue the Kingdom from the threat of the tyrant Saddam Hussein and "atheistic Iraqi Baathism." Our military officers in Arabia observed at the time that our sacrifices were received by the Saudis as no less than their due.

By the 1990s, however, internal pressures on the regime grew. Saudi Arabia's population had begun to double every 17 years—to the delight of Crown Prince Abdullah. But these additions to the work force had neither marketable skills nor any significant work ethic. At the embassy, our best recruiting efforts yielded only one Saudi employee: the ambassador's driver. Per capita incomes slumped toward the $5,000 range.

Social friction and class divisions were rising. The homogeneity of Saudi public life was waning. Young Saudis could sometimes access the Internet. It was becoming widely known that Prince Sultan alone may have had five palaces in Riyadh. Millions of young men—isolated from any normal contact with women—seethed with boredom and sexual frustration. Tapes of "Baywatch" and plain pornography were exceedingly popular. Saudi wives, often mured up in nasty, concrete-block bungalows, collectively suffered from depression and other mental health problems. The tragedies of some American women married to Saudi nationals gave the embassy occasional but instructive insights into the pathology of Saudi folkways. The U.S. was rarely of help to these women.

Until quite recently, criticism of Saudi Arabia was deflected by American apologists who would refer to "Saudi exceptionalism." Isn't Saudi Arabia undemocratic? No, say the Saudis, Crown Prince Abdullah and other senior princes meet with all manner of citizens and seek their views! Doesn't it lack a constitution? Deny religious freedom to other faiths? Have a weak human rights record? No matter, Saudis would say. In the Koran, God Himself had dictated to Muhammad—in Arabic—the only and final word concerning other religions, human rights, and every aspect of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man's life on earth. How could one speak in the same breath of some UNESCO statement and God's own infallible dispensation?

U.S. discussions with Saudi officials at the highest levels often dealt with security, military sales, the latest U.S. "peace initiative," economic cooperation, and sometimes intelligence exchanges. But in the back of the Saudi king's mind was always the belief that, so long as the Kingdom remained helpful to the U.S. through its strategic cooperation in oil production and pricing (20 percent of U.S. oil imports come from Saudi Arabia) and purchasing billions of dollars of U.S. military equipment and training, he could deflect our requests on domestically sensitive issues (such as kidnapped American children) to an always-later time. The record has shown the Saudis to be right. They, in effect, cooperated with the United States against the common threat of communism and left-wing radicalism; in exchange, the United States did not often contest how the Saudi government went about its business at home.

After the Oil Boom

The Middle East will be transformed over the next two decades. The rehabilitation of Iraq will be a major trigger, but a far greater one will be the world moving beyond oil and into natural gas and hydrogen. The shift to natural gas alone will increase connectivity between the region and the outside world, as we are already seeing in Saudi Arabia; but the shift to fuel-cell-powered automobiles will mean the oil-rich states of the region will finally have to develop their economies and move off the "trust fund" model of non-development. A key step in this process will be in the massive revamping and commensurate buildup of their educational systems, which right now do not produce enough young people with viable skills to succeed in a global economy. U.S. pressure in this regard should focus on the House of Saud, getting it to stop its significant support for religious schools that, in the words of Fareed Zakaria, specialize in churning out "half-educated, fanatical Muslims who view the modern world and non-Muslims with great suspicion."

—excerpted from Thomas Barnett's *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-first Century*

In the twenty-first century, however, Saudi Arabia and the United States are forced to confront a new common enemy: Islamic radicalism. The Saudis were at first slow in recognizing jihadist Islam as a threat. For years they practiced denial. Their reaction to the June 1996 Khobar Towers attack, in which 19 American soldiers were killed, was to delay, obfuscate, and deny. So was their first reaction to 9/11: It's inconceivable that 15 of the 19 hijackers might have been Saudis!

More recent events, however, such as the professionally executed quadruple bombings in Riyadh in May 2003 and the suicide bombing of a security forces building in April last year—not to mention attacks on Western workers—are changing the regime's attitude. Concerning the May 2003 attacks, Crown Prince Abdullah declared "there is no place for terror" in his country, and vowed to "destroy" the group responsible for these attacks. Another Saudi official called the bombings "a declaration of war against Saudi Arabia." This January, toward the end of the current month of pilgrimage, Saudi Arabia's grand mufti, Shaikh Abdul Aziz Al al-Shaikh also denounced terrorism. But the May attack on Al Khobar, with its 22 deaths, and the murder of Paul Johnson showed the Saudi Arabian government and the U.S. that the threat from Islamic terror was still active.

What can we say about the Saudi Arabian government's ongoing response? Saudi Intelligence cooperation on foreign and Arab issues will be nothing new. For decades that has been a key element in our strategic partnership. But the Saudi government always preferred to shield domestic developments, particularly those that involved the ruling family, from prying foreign eyes. If they let the United States follow the big money trail, where might that trail lead? It would assuredly lead to some Saudis of high degree, who for various reasons gave money to al-Qaeda. The contributors might have done so out of habit, like buying a ticket to the policemen's ball. Or they might have done so to buy protection, or because they actually supported al-Qaeda's mission. For sure, some Saudis, like many other Arabs, felt a certain *schadenfreude* over 9/11.

There are three reasons why the Saudi government is likely to stop stonewalling with regard to terrorist financing and other common actions against the jihadists. First, the direct threat to the royal family itself from al-Qaeda, and jihadist Islam in general, is now clear and direct. Second, the U.S. interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq have made it equally clear that terrorism is one issue for which Uncle Sam will not take no for an answer. Third, one gets the impression that the entrée of the Saudi ambassador in Washington is no longer what it was in the days of Bush 41. The Saudi Arabian government's June decision to place charitable fund-giving under central control may help cauterize some of this suspect donor activity.

Saudi cooperation on matters of security interest to us is feasible—especially if that cooperation proceeds "with muffled oars," minimizing the public visibility of a Saudi policy shift. But we will have to keep up steady pressure on the Saudis and show uncommon consistency of purpose at all levels of our government. The President himself must be tough and persistent. Years of U.S. deference to the royal family have made the Saudis uncommonly resistant to requests by ambassadors and the Department of State. U.S. Congressmen would often arrive in Arabia full of righteous criticisms at these "anachronistic sheikhs," only to emerge noticeably subdued after an audience in the overwhelming, fairy-tale palace of the king.

It's possible that the Saudi government will work with us in the fight against international jihadist Islam, while becoming a more overtly repressive police state that rules not on the basis of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arab traditions or social covenant, but via a formidable, ruthless, authoritarian cadre. There will be gestures toward reform—Crown Prince Abdullah's cabinet of 1995 looked good in the shop window to foreign observers: 14 Ph.D.s among 17 non-royal cabinet members! Those foreign-trained Ph.D.s, however, have no power base and are bound to the regime by their personal interests. That power will remain, for the near future, in the same practiced hands that it has for decades. And when today's senior-most princes finally give way to successors, we can expect the domestic policies and practices of the past—apart from a window dressing of democratization—not to change much. Neither should one look for change from the almost universal Arab disposition to "mitosis." The Saudi Royal Family, Inc. has its factions, i.e., the powerful, full-brother "Sudairy Seven" princes have little love for their half-brother, Crown Prince Abdullah, who has reformist tendencies and possesses popular authenticity. Nonetheless, the royal family has shown a unique ability in the Arab World to avoid division—and hence to avoid being overthrown either from without or within.

It may well be that the Saudis will continue to find utility in their policies of the past 40 years—that is, to cooperate with the United States on common strategic and security concerns while keeping the U.S. at arm's length on a wide range of American "druthers." This would include many domestic social, political, and religious issues, where the Saudi position will remain contrary to what the United States is pledged to stand for.

Such a government would resemble some of its despotic neighbors. Will we continue to show forbearance to Saudi Arabia's domestic policies because of its oil and, now, its importance to us in the battle against Osama bin Laden and jihadist Islam? It will be interesting to see how the United States reacts if Saudi Arabia pursues a governing style at home similar to Hafez al-Asad's Syria.

Hume Horan served as U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Ivory Coast, and Cameroon/Equatorial Guinea, and recently as a senior counselor to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq.

Iran

A House Divided

By Daniel Kennelly

When the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Islamic Republic rolled by on April 1, one thing was clear to Iranians—Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's revolution is a shambles. Iran's ruling clerics have won for their country only international isolation and crippling U.S. sanctions. Even the regime itself estimates that unemployment among 15- to 30-year-olds is nearly 30 percent. In a post-9/11 world, Iran's support for terrorism and pursuit of nuclear weapons make it a present danger to the U.S.

Newscom.com/AFP PHOTO/Behrouz MEHRI

Iranian reformist President Mohammad Khatami (c.) and fellow politicians sit under the stern gaze of a mural of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

At the same time, Iran offers serious grounds for optimism. Its political system is more open than that of any of the Arab countries to its west, save, one hopes, the new Iraq. Satellite television, though technically illegal, is widespread. There are parliamentary elections (rigged, to be sure), and two of its vice presidents are women. Discontent with the status quo is pervasive and politicized. With memories of one revolution still fresh in many Iranians' minds, it increasingly looks as if the country has the makings for a second.

Discussions about Iran tend to focus on two opposing groups: the conservative clerics, led by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who keep Khomeini's dream alive; and the reformers, led by Iranian President Mohammad Khatami, who seek to gradually open up Iran's moribund politics and economy to the world.

This depiction is true, but incomplete, as Ramin Jahanbegloo, an Iranian scholar living in Tehran, wrote last year in the *Journal of Democracy*. The reality of Iranian politics is "characterized by multiple and competing power centers whose rivalries have created a chaotic situation in which various shades and types of 'reformism' and 'conservatism' interact in often bewildering ways." Bewildering, yes, but these "shades and types" also represent the most likely means of breaking Iran's political gridlock.

Many Iran-watchers refer to one such competing power center as the Third Force: the growing number of predominantly young activists who yearn for real political and economic reform, and believe that both the clerics and so-called reformers in parliament are cut from the same cloth. Within this gathering movement are students, intellectuals, activists, expatriates, and many members of Iran's middle class. And they are sophisticated enough, says Ray Takeyh, an Iran expert at National Defense University, "to know what's wrong with their country and who's responsible for it."

This large segment of Iranian society cannot be contained indefinitely. Since 1998, it has gradually disengaged from the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

official political process—witness the abysmal voter turnout in the February 20 parliamentary elections, in which the hard-line Guardian Council disqualified large numbers of reformist candidates. The discontent of this segment was conveyed earlier this year at the American Enterprise Institute when a large audience had the opportunity to hear individual Iranians' live telephone testimonies from inside the Islamic Republic. These Iranians expressed a mixture of apathy for the present and optimism for a freer future, as well as doubts about what the United States can (or should) do to catalyze the process.

There is another group, however, that some Iran experts think could play a more immediate role in breaking Iran's political stalemate: the "pragmatic conservatives." Led by former president Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, this group realizes that positioning one's country to receive only the U.S. stick but none of the carrots is uncommonly stupid. Thus in a Friday sermon shortly after Baghdad fell last April, Rafsanjani remarked, "Our ideology is flexible. [T]o put the country in jeopardy on the grounds that we are acting on an Islamic basis is not at all Islamic."

Pragmatic conservatives recognize that Iran's debates over democracy and Islam, or support for Hamas and Hezbollah, will not be settled anytime soon. Though they oppose political and social liberalization, the pragmatists also care little for fighting Islam's culture wars. Instead, they suggest putting all gridlock-producing issues on the backburner in order to address consensus issues, such as the urgent need to reform Iran's reeling economy.

The U.S. military is now entrenched in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Gulf emirates, and many of the former Soviet republics of Central Asia. American power literally surrounds Iran. The difficulty in leveraging this power is caused by what experts call the "two track" nature of the problem. On one track, moving slowly (and sometimes seeming to move backwards), is Iran's inevitable political transformation. On the other, moving much faster, is the regime's pursuit of a nuclear weapons capability. Iran-watchers suggest the United States can therefore adopt one of at least three strategies that proved successful in dealing with the Soviet Union, China, and Libya.

The first approach could be described as catalyzing democratic change, and its antecedent is Reagan's rollback of the Soviet Union. This approach seeks to capitalize on America's unprecedented position of power vis-à-vis Iran to change not only Iran's external behavior, but the regime itself. (Just as Reagan insisted that the Soviet regime's aggressive, deceitful character determined its policies, not the other way around).

Recognizing the two track nature of the problem, proponents of rollback argue that American power (for starters, covert ops, ratcheting up the rhetoric, and aiding liberal Iranian media) can accelerate the slow track of Iran's democratization until it overtakes the fast-track nuclear ambitions of Iran's mullahs. The Iranian people, it is hoped, will pursue a peaceful foreign policy and forsake nukes. In this scenario, America's security interests and moral ideals and the aspirations of the Iranian people, form a harmonious, three-pronged attack on Tehran's unelected mullahs.

"You want something to break the status quo, which has given us an advanced weapons program and near paralysis among the reformers," says AEI fellow Reuel Marc Gerecht, a leading advocate for regime change in Iran. "America's primary goal would be to galvanize Iran's internal debate in favor of the democratic reformers."

Critics have listed several drawbacks to this approach, not least among them the fact that Iran's drive for nuclear weapons is actually a policy with wide popular appeal, not just an elite clerical agenda. Furthermore, increasing Iran's sense of insecurity would only benefit the clerics, who would use the opportunity to clamp down even harder on the reformers, redouble their efforts to develop an indigenous nuclear fuel cycle, and possibly make life hell for the United States in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Another criticism of rollback is more severe, but harder to support: that the United States is completely powerless to influence Iran's domestic politics. Jahangir Amuzegar, a former finance minister and economic ambassador in Iran's pre-1979 government, argued in *Foreign Affairs* a year ago, "Events within Iran will dictate the U.S. posture rather than the other way around...." In fact, Amuzegar concluded, because Iranians are naturally and profoundly skeptical of foreigners, the United States has everything to lose and nothing to gain by meddling in the country's internal turf wars.

The two other strategies the United States could pursue follow from the criticisms listed above. Both presuppose the honesty and influence of Iran's pragmatic conservatives—that they have renounced an ideological foreign policy in favor of a more "rational" calculus of national interest. These models require U.S. policymakers to put aside the Iranian people's democratic aspirations, hold their noses, and strike a deal. Needless to say, there are reservations here, too.

Are the Mullahs' Days Numbered?

Iran will experience an overthrow of the mullahs' rule by 2010, and this still-talented and potentially vibrant pillar of a transformed Middle East will once again assume a position of serious standing in global society. The counterrevolution has already begun, and it will continue to flare up periodically until some trigger sets off the big explosion. Current president Mohammad Khatami is a would-be Gorbachev awaiting his Chernobyl-like spark, which America would do well to engineer by making Iraq the greatest reclamation project the world has ever seen. If that is not enough, then Iran must become the main focus on our pressure for change once Kim Jong-Il is dethroned in North Korea, if only for the regime's continued support of transnational terrorist groups in general and al-Qaeda in particular.

—excerpted from Thomas Barnett's *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-first Century*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The first strategy is deal-making on a grand scale, and its precedent is Libya. (See more on Libya on page 38.) Proponents argue that the recent breakthrough with Libya testifies that crushing economic sanctions can, over time, change a regime's fundamental calculus. Iran's pragmatic conservatives, it is thought, would be willing to put their nuclear program on the bargaining table if that generated foreign investment, encouraged structural economic reforms, and delivered relief from sanctions. "What we've never done," explains Geoffrey Kemp, an Iran expert at the Nixon Center, "is spell out to the Iranians what they'll get" if they dramatically alter their behavior. As with Libya, making serious, verifiable progress in return for lifting economic sanctions is a highly enticing carrot for economically decimated rogue states.

At the same time, U.S. domestic politics would not allow a deal on nuclear weapons alone; Iran's support for terrorism must also be on the table. This includes a change in Iran's refusal to turn over its al-Qaeda prisoners, which is presently not in the clerics' interest given the likelihood that they would implicate Iranian officials if questioned.

The final approach holds that catalyzing regime change and cutting a grand bargain are presently impossible, but that a string of smaller bilateral deals are doable. Takeyh contends that Iranian foreign policy has not only renounced critical elements of its revolutionary ideology, it has moved beyond pragmatism as well. He calls Iran's new approach "compartmentalization" and argues the precedent within U.S. foreign policy is China: Though two countries compete and disagree over fundamental principles, America's interests are better served through working relations on issues of common concern than they are through righteous disengagement.

Not surprisingly, many Iran experts reject the very notion of a deal, even if they believed one were possible. These critics cite at least four drawbacks. First, President Bush has repeatedly stressed that supporting tyranny over freedom is neither moral nor productive. Backtracking now would produce "a devastating effect on the pro-democracy movement in Iran." Second, the clerics will negotiate dishonestly in order to stall until their nuclear and ideological ambitions are fulfilled. And they wouldn't have to stall for long: It's entirely possible that by the end of next year Iran could begin to produce enough fissionable material to make a score or more of weapons a year. Third, U.S. deal-making would signal to America's allies that Iran is exclusively a U.S. problem. Finally, striking a bilateral deal requires serious verification, and even if the Iranians allowed the International Atomic Energy Agency to conduct intrusive inspections, there is no assurance that such inspections could penetrate Iran's tangled and competing layers of bureaucracy.

For U.S. foreign policy to stand a better chance of success, America's statesmen must establish clear priorities. If regime change is a major priority for this administration, it must be willing to accept the requisite trade-offs. Hoarding U.S. power for such a big-ticket item as a future Iranian democracy requires one to refuse smaller, often significant deals. On the other hand, should one opt instead for those smaller, expedient deals, one must recognize that supping with the devil carries its own costs.

Confused? You should be. About the only sure thing one can say of the tangled web of Iranian diplomacy is this: Time is a very limited resource.

Daniel Kennelly is a TAE *senior editor.*

Pakistan

Roller Coaster Riding with General Musharraf

By Simon Henderson

Relations between the U.S. and Pakistan are an emotional roller-coaster ride. In January of this year, Washington was concerned that President Pervez Musharraf had just narrowly survived two assassination attempts within one month. In February, President Musharraf was balancing relations with Washington and his own domestic political popularity by publicly condemning and then pardoning the country's top nuclear scientist—a national hero—for selling nuclear secrets to North Korea, Iran, and Libya. Officials in both the U.S. and Europe have since indicated there could be other countries that were customers. Then, in June, terrorists in Karachi nearly succeeded in assassinating the local military commander, one of Musharraf's most senior colleagues. Where this roller-coaster ride will be by year's end is anyone's guess, a state of affairs which gives little comfort to the U.S. policymakers trying to determine how to handle Pakistan.

On paper, Pervez Musharraf is a military leader Washington can work with. Few doubt his personal bravery: He was honored for his conduct as a young soldier in the 1965 war with India. By

Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf (c.) and his Turkish counterpart Ahmet Necdet Sezer (l.) review an honor guard in Turkey.

Newscom.com/EPA/str

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the time of the 1971 war he was a company commander in Pakistan's elite commando unit. He then rose to become the commander of the main army formation facing India before promotion to chief of army staff. His political view is appealing as well: He lived in Turkey as a teenager and respects that nation and its secular democracy. The fact that he came to power by ousting an elected leader was excusable: Nawaz Sharif was almost hopelessly corrupt. And since 9/11, Musharraf has been on Washington's side, providing facilities for U.S. forces and reining in the Islamic elements in his own armed forces who had worked with the Taliban and al-Qaeda.

Few people are privy to the political discussions of the Pakistani military top brass. But the questions addressed in the messes probably concern issues like the tenuousness of Musharraf's hold on public support; his potential successor, should an assassination attempt succeed; and the humiliation of Pakistan's national hero, nuclear scientist Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan. Similar discussions are probably going on among Pakistan's top bureaucrats, the career civil servants who administer the country whether an elected government or the military is in power. Together, the bureaucratic-military elite make up the most permanent part of the Pakistani political system. This is not to say there are not sharp differences between the two. But the elite recognize their national responsibility and, crucially, have a sense of the possible.

Since its independence in 1947, tensions between Pakistan and India have been constant over the disputed (and currently divided) region of Kashmir, whose Muslim population lives under Indian control. Following the secession of East Pakistan, which became Bangladesh in 1971, Pakistan has also been concerned with the integrity of the nation. The development of nuclear weapons, spurred on by India's nuclear test in 1974, was meant to provide guarantees. But despite its successful tests in 1998 and the development of nuclear-capable missiles, Pakistan now finds itself in an arms race with its neighbor, which, given its much smaller economy, it just cannot win.

In 1998, Dr. Khan and I discussed the dangers of an arms race, and he agreed with me that it was futile. So why did it accelerate? Western officials have told me that the Pakistani tests in 1998 were more successful than the Indian test, and the new Pakistani missiles, based on Chinese and North Korean designs, were superior to their Indian equivalents. I suspect that Pakistan thought it had a window of opportunity in which to press India for concessions on Kashmir.

But there were no concessions, perhaps because the Indians did not realize they were at a disadvantage. Or perhaps they thought they should not display weakness toward their smaller neighbor. The world changed with 9/11, and Pakistan's and India's relations with it. Pakistan discovered it had become far too close to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. India realized that international concern over Pakistan's nuclear weapons and Taliban connections could be played to its own advantage.

In the current circumstances, the Pakistani elite realize there is no real alternative to going along with the United States in the war on terror. But there are already indications that Pakistani army units do not feel obliged to help the U.S., and there are parts of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border area and even Pakistani cities where the writ of Islamabad does not run. A March offensive against suspected Taliban hideouts close to Afghanistan fizzled out with no significant prisoners taken and several dozen army casualties.

To place much faith in Pakistan's leadership is clearly risky. Washington's nuclear pressure on Musharraf has produced results, but also some bizarre outcomes. Who would have imagined that Khan would (implausibly) take the whole blame for Pakistan's proliferation of nuclear secrets to Iran, Libya, and North Korea? And who would have guessed that Musharraf would say he was not going to confiscate Khan's portfolio of properties and other investments, the profits of this rogue operation?

Four days after Khan was pardoned, Pakistani officials said it was a conditional pardon, related only to what he had confessed so far and that his interrogation was continuing. If Washington wanted any further explanation of what Khan and others had been up to, Musharraf indicated he was not going to provide it: Pakistan would not submit to any United Nations supervision of its nuclear weapons nor any independent investigation.

Washington's prime objective in Pakistan must be to maintain working relations with its leader. From that task follows the ability to constrain missile and nuclear proliferation, and the ability to gain cooperation in the war on terror. If Musharraf goes, perhaps the victim of an assassin, it might take months to re-establish working relations. Neither proliferation control nor the war on terror would benefit from such a hiatus.

Simon Henderson is a London-based associate of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Libya
Has Qaddafi Been Born Again?

By Karina Rollins

"The world has changed radically and drastically. The methods and ideas should change, and being a revolutionary and progressive man, I have followed this movement." So spoke Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi in 1999, signaling his apparent willingness to put his violently anti-Western past behind him.

Since then, Qaddafi has accepted responsibility for the murder of 259 innocent airline passengers by Libyan agents in the 1988 Lockerbie bombing, and paid $2.7 billion to the victims' families. He has lauded "the era of economy, consumption, markets, and investments," and said he would welcome outside capitalist investment in Libya. And since 9/11 Libya has been actively helpful to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Newscom.com/REUTERS/Juda Ngwenya

Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi

the U.S., sharing information on the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group and other organizations known to have al-Qaeda connections.

Still, the world hesitated to celebrate the end of the Libyan terror regime. But then on December 19, 2003, Colonel Qaddafi unexpectedly went much further. He admitted the existence of a Libyan program to develop weapons of mass destruction, and invited inspectors into his country to rifle through his stash. Qaddafi surrendered a nuclear and chemical weapons program that turned out to be more fully developed than nearly anyone had anticipated.

This stunning development was hailed by the White House and supporters of the war in Iraq as a vindication of the Bush doctrine of preventive war. Pundits proclaimed that Qaddafi's transformation was a direct result of his fear of ending up like Saddam Hussein. Britain's *Daily Telegraph* reported that Qaddafi had telephoned Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi in September 2003 and offered, "I will do whatever the Americans want, because I saw what happened in Iraq, and I was afraid." Opponents, however, claimed that invading Iraq had nothing to do with Qaddafi's change of heart, that it was, rather, the fruit of years of sanctions and diplomatic efforts.

We may never know for sure. But the important question for dealing with Libya in coming years isn't the source, but rather the *quality* of Colonel Qaddafi's makeover. Can a decades-long host to terrorist training camps, a sponsor of countless murders, truly be reformed? As Frank Gaffney, president of the Center for Security Policy, reminds, "there is powerful reason, given his track record, to be concerned that this dictator will not honor his commitments. Qaddafi is notoriously erratic, unpredictable and unreliable."

The fact is, Qaddafi continues to keep his fellow citizens in a state of oppression. It is illegal in Libya to engage in the private practice of law; the formation of political parties or unions are crimes punishable by death; dissidents are routinely jailed and tortured. One man who went to prison is regime critic Fathi Eljahmi. Since his return home in March, Libyan authorities have threatened to kidnap his wife and daughters, kept his home under surveillance, and interrogated his visitors.

Eljahmi's brother, Mohamed, a naturalized U.S. citizen, says that "Libya has become Qaddafi's feudalistic farm, and he treats the Libyan people as animals who live within the farm." The 5.4 million Libyans trapped on that farm, says Fathi, "view the WMD agreement between Qaddafi and the U.S. as a deal that trades WMDs for the liberty of the Libyan people." Claudia Rosett of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies takes a dark view of Qaddafi's shift as well: "It was a calculated bid by Qaddafi to keep power. U.S. recognition, let alone praise, brings with it enhanced status, authority, and an implication that sanctions may be lifted, oil deals may flow, Qaddafi's coffers may be refilled, and his reign of repression may carry on unrebuked."

From a practical standpoint, those popping champagne corks over Qaddafi's apparent change of heart have given little attention to the ease with which a dictatorial regime might conceal a continuing weapons program. Gaffney points out that "Qaddafi has spent untold billions constructing his so-called 'Man-Made River,' a stupendous network of underground tunnels and caverns built with the help of Western firms to run the length and width of the country. Engineers associated with one of these companies have revealed their suspicion that such facilities were not meant to move water, but rather to conceal the movement and location of military-related activities."

Yes, Qaddafi has handed over 55,000 pounds of nuclear materials, as well as detailed weapons designs. But as Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham pointed out on March 15, "it is only the tip of the iceberg. What we retrieved in January represents less than 5 percent, by weight, of the total." Since then, the Libyans have announced missing nuclear paraphernalia—"lost" en route to Libya, likely from Pakistan. And of course there's the recent news that Qaddafi, while renouncing terrorism and negotiating the lifting of sanctions last year, ordered the assassination of his enemy Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah. Mohamed Eljahmi believes, "Qaddafi will always remain a terrorist and an enemy of freedom and civil society."

Still, bad as the colonel remains, he's been worse. Even pessimistic Claudia Rosett believes that "in the short term, we in the Free World are safer." Tom Lantos, the ranking member on the House International Relations Committee, maintains that "if Libya does its part completely and verifiably, we must treat this as a new chapter in U.S.-Libyan relations. There is too much at stake to do otherwise."

But a new chapter should feature an important plot twist on the part of the U.S. As Vance Serchuk, research associate in defense and security policy at the American Enterprise Institute, points out, the U.S. is letting Qaddafi "rehabilitate himself into a *status quo* Arab tyrant. What good will it do us in the long run to have another Syria, Egypt, or Saudi Arabia?" Serchuk worries that "instead of pushing for political liberalization in Libya, the U.S. is asking for oil contracts. Qaddafi is coming from a point of weakness, and we're treating him like an equal partner. Welcoming him into the fold while he's still oppressing his people undercuts our moral authority in that part of the world."

Can an old dog be trusted to learn new tricks? Maybe. But as long as he has teeth, he needs to stay on a—verifiable—short leash.

Karina Rollins is a TAE *senior editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fact or Fable?

Digging up the truth in the evolution debate

By Rodney Stark

© PictureQuest

I write as neither a creationist nor a Darwinist, but as one who knows what is probably the most disreputable scientific secret of the past century: There is no plausible scientific theory of the origin of species! Darwin himself was not sure he had produced one, and for many decades every competent evolutionary biologist has known that he did not. Although the experts have kept quiet when true believers have sworn in court and before legislative bodies that Darwin's theory is proven beyond any possible doubt, that's not what reputable biologists, including committed Darwinians, have been saying to one another.

Without question, Charles Darwin would be among the most prominent biologists in history even if he hadn't written *The Origin of Species* in 1859. But he would not have been deified in the campaign to "enlighten" humanity. The battle over evolution is not an example of how heroic scientists have withstood the relentless persecution of religious fanatics. Rather, from the very start it primarily has been an attack on religion by militant atheists who wrap themselves in the mantle of science.

When a thoroughly ideological Darwinist like Richard Dawkins claims, "The theory is about as much in doubt as that the earth goes round the sun," he does not state a fact, but merely aims to discredit *a priori* anyone who dares to express reservations about evolution. Indeed, Dawkins has written, "It is absolutely safe to say that, if you meet somebody who claims not to believe in evolution, that person is ignorant, stupid, or insane...."

That is precisely how "Darwin's Bulldog," Thomas Huxley, hoped intellectuals would react when he first adopted the tactic of claiming that the only choice is between Darwin and Bible literalism. However, just as one can doubt Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic* thesis without thereby declaring for Marxism, so too one may note the serious shortcomings of neo-Darwinism without opting for any rival theory. Modern physics provides a model of how science benefits from being willing to live with open ques-

Rodney Stark was professor of sociology at the University of Washington for many years and is now university professor of the social sciences at Baylor University. He is author of For the Glory of God *(Princeton University Press) and other acclaimed books on science and religion.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions rather than embracing obviously flawed conjectures.

What is most clear to me is that the Darwinian Crusade does not prove some basic incompatibility between religion and science. But the even more immediate reality is that Darwin's theory falls noticeably short of explaining the origin of species. Dawkins knows the many serious problems that beset a purely materialistic evolutionary theory, but asserts that no one except true believers in evolution can be allowed into the discussion, which also must be held in secret. Thus he chastises Niles Eldridge and Stephen Jay Gould, two distinguished fellow Darwinians, for giving "spurious aid and comfort to modern creationists."

Dawkins believes that, regardless of his or her good intentions, "if a reputable scholar breathes so much as a hint of criticism of some detail of Darwinian theory, that fact is seized upon and blown up out of proportion." While acknowledging that "the extreme rarity of transitional forms in the fossil record" is a major embarrassment for Darwinism, Stephen Jay Gould confided that this has been held as a "trade secret of paleontology" and acknowledged that the evolutionary diagrams "that adorn our textbooks" are based on "inference...not the evidence of fossils."

According to Steven Stanley, another distinguished evolutionist, doubts raised by the fossil record were "suppressed" for years. Stanley noted that this too was a tactic begun by Huxley, always careful not to reveal his own serious misgivings in public. Paleontologist Niles Eldridge and his colleagues have said that the history of life demonstrates gradual transformations of species, "all the while really knowing that it does not." This is not how science is conducted; it is how ideological crusades are run.

Darwin notwithstanding, it is taken for granted among the leading biological scientists that the origin of species has yet to be explained.

By Darwin's day it had long been recognized that the fossil evidence showed that there had been a progression in the biological complexity of organisms over an immense period of time. In the oldest strata, only simple organisms are observed. In more recent strata, more complex organisms appear. The biological world is now classified into a set of nested categories. Within each genus (mammals, reptiles, etc.) are species (dogs, horses, elephants, etc.) and within each species are many specific varieties, or breeds (Great Dane, Poodle, Beagle, etc.).

It was well-known that selective breeding can create variations within species. But the boundaries between species are distinct and firm—one species does not simply trail off into another by degrees. As Darwin acknowledged, breeding experiments reveal clear limits to selective breeding beyond which no additional changes can be produced. For example, dogs can be bred to be only so big and no bigger, let alone be selectively bred until they are cats. Hence, the question of where species come from was the real challenge and, despite the title of his famous book and more than a century of hoopla and celebration, Darwin essentially left it unanswered.

After many years spent searching for an adequate explanation of the origin of species, in the end Darwin fell back on natural selection, claiming that it could create new creatures too, if given immense periods of time. That is, organisms respond to their environmental circumstances by slowly changing (evolving) in the direction of traits beneficial to survival until, eventually, they are sufficiently changed to constitute a new species. Hence, new species originate very slowly, one tiny change after another, and eventually this can result in lemurs changing to humans via many intervening species.

Darwin fully recognized that a major weakness of this account of the origin of species involved what he and others referred to as the principle of "gradualism in nature." The fossil record was utterly inconsistent with gradualism. As Darwin acknowledged: "...why, if species have descended from other species by fine gradations, do we not everywhere see innumerable transitional forms? Why is not all nature in confusion instead of the species being, as we see them, well defined?"

Darwin offered two solutions. Transitional types are quickly replaced and hence would mainly only be observable in the fossil record. As for the lack of transitional types among the fossils, that was, Darwin admitted, "the most obvious and serious objection which can be urged against the theory."

Darwin dealt with this problem by blaming "the extreme imperfection of the geological record." "Only a small portion of the surface of the earth has been geologically explored, and no part with sufficient care." But, just wait, Darwin promised, the missing transitions will be found in the expected proportion when more research has been done. Thus began an intensive search for what the popular press soon called the "missing links."

Today, the fossil record is enormous compared to what it was in Darwin's day, but the facts are unchanged. The links are still missing; species appear suddenly and then remain relatively unchanged. As Steven Stanley reported: "The known fossil record...offers no evidence that the gradualistic model can be valid."

Indeed, the evidence has grown even more contrary since Darwin's day. "Many of the discontinuities [in the fossil record] tend to be more and more emphasized with increased collecting," noted the former curator of historical geology at the American Museum of Natural History. The history of most fossil species includes two features particularly inconsistent with gradualism, Stephen Jay Gould has acknowledged. The first problem is stasis. Most species exhibit no directional change during their tenure on earth. They appear in the fossil record looking much the same as when they disappear. The second problem is sudden appearance. Species do not arise gradually by the steady transformation of ancestors, they appear "fully formed."

These are precisely the objections raised by many biologists and geologists in Darwin's time—it was not merely that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Darwin's claim that species arise through eons of natural selection was offered without supporting evidence, but that the available evidence was overwhelmingly contrary. Unfortunately, rather than concluding that a theory of the origin of species was yet to be accomplished, many scientists urged that Darwin's claims must be embraced, no matter what.

In keeping with Darwin's views, evolutionists have often explained new species as the result of the accumulation of tiny, favorable random mutations over an immense span of time. But this answer is inconsistent with the fossil record wherein creatures appear "full-blown and raring to go." Consequently, for most of the past century, biologists and geneticists have tried to discover how a huge number of favorable mutations can occur at one time so that a new species would appear without intermediate types.

However, as the eminent and committed Darwinist Ernst Mayr explained,

> The occurrence of genetic monstrosities by mutation...is well substantiated, but they are such evident freaks that these monsters can only be designated as 'hopeless.' They are so utterly unbalanced that they would not have the slightest chance of escaping elimination through selection. Giving a thrush the wings of a falcon does not make it a better flyer....To believe that such a drastic mutation would produce a viable new type, capable of occupying a new adaptive zone, is equivalent to believing in miracles.

The word miracle crops up again and again in mathematical assessments of the possibility that even very simple biochemical chains, let alone living organisms, can mutate into being by a process of random trial and error. For generations, Darwinians have regaled their students with the story of the monkey and the typewriter, noting that given an infinite period of time, the monkey sooner or later is bound to produce *Macbeth* purely by chance, the moral being that infinite time can perform miracles.

However, the monkey of random evolution does not have infinite time. The progression from simple to complex life forms on earth took place within a quite limited time. Moreover, when competent mathematicians considered the matter, they quickly calculated that even if the monkey's task were reduced to coming up with only a few lines of *Macbeth*, let alone Shakespeare's entire play, the probability is far, far beyond mathematical possibility. The odds of creating even the simplest organism at random are even more remote—Fred Hoyle and Chandra Wickramasinghe, celebrated cosmologists, calculated the odds as one in ten to the 40,000th power. (Consider that all atoms in the known universe are estimated to number no more than ten to the 80th power.) In this sense, then, Darwinian theory does rest on truly miraculous assumptions.

Perhaps the most amazing aspect of the current situation is that while Darwin is treated as a secular saint in the popular media and the theory of evolution is regarded as the invincible challenge to all religious claims, it is taken for granted among the leading biological scientists that the origin of species has yet to be explained. Writing in *Nature* in 1999, Eörs Szathmay summarizes that, "The origin of species has long fascinated biologists.

The Miracle of Creation

Freeman Dyson, professor emeritus at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study, is a preeminent mathematical physicist, and one of the most wide-ranging thinkers and writers in modern science. These observations are drawn from interviews with Monte Davis and Stewart Brand.

QUESTION: How do we understand the universe at all? Do you agree with Carl Sagan that humans find the mathematics of gravitation so simple and elegant because natural selection eliminated the apes who couldn't understand?

DYSON: Not at all. For apes to come out of the trees, and change in the direction of being able to write down Maxwell's equations, I don't think you can explain that by natural selection at all. It's just a miracle.

QUESTION: You have written that "as we look out into the universe and identify the many accidents of physics and astronomy that have worked together to our benefit, it almost seems as if the universe must in some sense have known that we were coming." Is that a playful suggestion?

DYSON: It's not playful at all.

QUESTION: Then we seem to be talking about sentiments that most people would consider religious. Are they religious for you?

DYSON: Oh yes.

QUESTION: The dominant tendency in modern science has been to assert that we occupy no privileged place, that the universe does not care, that science and religion don't mix. Where do you fit into those ideas?

DYSON: The tendency you're talking about is a modern one, not old. I think it became almost a dogma only with the fight for acceptance of Darwinism, Huxley versus Bishop Wilberforce, and so on. Before the nineteenth century, scientists were not ashamed of being religious, but since Darwin, it's been taboo.

The biologists are still fighting Wilberforce. If you look now, the view that everything is due to chance and to little bits of molecular clockwork is mostly propounded by biologists, particularly people like Jacques Monod—whereas the physicists have become far more skeptical about that. If you actually look at the way modern physics is going, it's very far from that. Yes, it's the biologists who've made it so hard to talk about these things.

I was reading recently a magnificent book by Thomas Wright, written about 1750, when these inhibitions didn't exist at all. Wright was the discoverer of galaxies, you know, and he writes:

"I can never look upon the stars without wondering that the whole world does not become astronomers; and that men,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although Darwin's major work bears it as a title, it does not provide a solution to the problem." When Julian Huxley claimed that "Darwin's theory is...no longer a theory but a fact," he surely knew better. But, just like his grandfather, Thomas Huxley, he knew that his lie served the greater good of "enlightenment."

When *The Origin of Species* was published it aroused immense interest, but initially it did not provoke antagonism on religious grounds. Although many criticized Darwin's lack of evidence, none raised religious objections. Instead, the initial response from theologians was favorable. The distinguished Harvard botanist Asa Gray hailed Darwin for having solved the most difficult problem confronting the Design argument—the many imperfections and failures revealed in the fossil record. Acknowledging that Darwin himself "rejects the idea of design," Gray congratulated him for "bringing out the neatest illustrations of it." Gray interpreted Darwin's work as showing that God has created a few original forms and then let evolution proceed within the framework of divine laws.

When religious antagonism finally came it was in response to aggressive claims, like Huxley's, that Newton and Darwin together had evicted God from the cosmos. For the heirs of the Enlightenment, evolution seemed finally to supply the weapon needed to destroy religion. As Richard Dawkins confided, "Darwin made it possible to be an intellectually fulfilled atheist."

Atheism was central to the agenda of the Darwinians. Darwin himself once wrote that he could not understand how anyone could even wish that Christianity were true, noting that the doctrine of damnation was itself damnable. Huxley expressed his hostility toward religion often and clearly, writing in 1859: "My screed was meant as a protest against Theology & Parsondom...both of which are in my mind the natural & irreconcilable enemies of Science. Few see it but I believe we are on the Eve of a new Reformation and if I have a wish to live 30 years, it is to see the foot of Science on the necks of her Enemies." According to Oxford historian J. R. Lucas, Huxley was "remarkably resistant to the idea that there were clergymen who accepted evolution, even when actually faced with them." Quite simply, there could be no compromises with faith.

Writing at the same time as Huxley, the leading Darwinian in Germany, Ernst Haeckel, drew this picture:

> On one side spiritual freedom and truth, reason and culture, evolution and progress stand under the bright banner of science; on the other side, under the black flag of hierarchy, stand spiritual slavery and falsehood, irrationality and barbarism, superstition and retrogression.... Evolution is the heavy artillery in the struggle for truth. Whole ranks of...sophistries fall together under the chain shot of this...artillery, and the proud and mighty structure of the Roman hierarchy, that powerful stronghold of infallible dogmatism, falls like a house of cards.

These were not the natterings of radical circles and peripheral publications. The author of the huge review of *The Origin* in the *Times of London* was none other than Thomas Huxley. He built his lectures on evolution into a popular touring stage show

endowed with sense and reason, should neglect a science that must convince them of their immortality."

QUESTION: There's a provocative sentence in your book *Imagined Worlds*: "The laws of nature are constructed in such a way as to make the universe as interesting as possible." What do you mean by that?

DYSON: It's the numerical accidents that make life possible. I define an interesting universe as one that is friendly to life, and especially one that produces lots of variety.

QUESTION: What accidental numbers make that possible?

DYSON: If you look at just the physical building blocks, there's a famous problem with producing carbon in stars. All the carbon necessary for life has to be produced in stars, and it's difficult to do. To make carbon, you've got to have three helium atoms collide in a triple collision. Helium has an atomic weight of 4, and carbon is 12. Beryllium, at 8, is unstable, therefore you can't go from helium to beryllium to carbon; you have to make helium into carbon in one jump. This means three atoms colliding together.

QUESTION: Which statistically is not so often.

DYSON: No. But Fred Hoyle, who discovered this process, came up with one of the most brilliant ideas in the whole of science. He said that in order to make carbon abundant as it should be, there must be an accidental, coincidental resonance. This means that there's a nuclear state in the carbon nucleus at precisely the right energy level for these three atoms to combine smoothly. The chance of having that resonance in the right place is maybe 1 in 1,000. Hoyle believed it must be there in order to produce the carbon. Of course, the nuclear physicists then looked for this resonance, and found it!

There are other famous cases: The fact that the nuclear force is just strong enough to bind a proton and a neutron to make the heavy isotope hydrogen, but not strong enough to bind two protons to make helium with an atomic weight of 2. Just two protons stuck together is a rather narrow range of strength. So the nuclear force is fine-tuned so that hydrogen doesn't burn to helium right away. If the two hydrogen nuclei did bind, all the hydrogen would burn to helium in the first five minutes. The universe would then be pure helium and a rather boring place. Whereas, if the force were a little bit weaker, so that the neutron and the proton didn't bind, you wouldn't get any heavy elements at all. You'd have nothing but hydrogen. Again, this would make for a boring universe.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wherein he challenged various potential religious opponents by name. Is it surprising that religious people, scientists as well as clerics, began to respond in the face of unrelenting challenges like these issued in the name of evolution? It was not as if they merely were asked to accept that life had evolved—many theologians had long taken that for granted. What the Darwinians demanded was that religionists agree to the untrue and unscientific claim that Darwin had proved that God played no role in the process.

The Darwinians demanded agreement with the untrue and unscientific claim that Darwin had proved that God played no role in the process.

Among those drawn to respond was the Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce, who is widely said to have made an ass of himself in a debate with Huxley during the 1860 meeting of the British Association at Oxford. The relevant account of this confrontation reported: "I was happy enough to be present on the memorable occasion at Oxford when Mr. Huxley bearded Bishop Wilberforce. The bishop arose and in a light scoffing tone, florid and fluent, he assured us that there was nothing in the idea of evolution. Then turning to his antagonist with a smiling insolence, he begged to know, was it through his grandfather or his grandmother that he claimed descent from a monkey? On this Mr. Huxley...arose...and spoke these tremendous words. He was not ashamed to have a monkey for an ancestor; but he would be ashamed to be connected with a man who used his great gifts to obscure the truth. No one doubted his meaning and the effect was tremendous."

This marvelous anecdote has appeared in every distinguished biography of Darwin and of Huxley, as well as in every popular history of the theory of evolution. In his celebrated *Apes, Angels and Victorians*, William Irvine used this tale to disparage the bishop's snobbery. In his prize-winning study, James Brix went much farther, describing Wilberforce as "naive and pompous," a man whose "faulty opinions" were those of a "fundamentalist creationist" and who provided Huxley with the opportunity to give evolution "its first major victory over dogmatism and duplicity." Every writer tells how the audience gave Huxley an ovation.

Trouble is, it never happened. The quotation above was the only such report of this story and it appeared in an article titled "A Grandmother's Tales" written by a non-scholar in a popular magazine 38 years after the alleged encounter. No other account of these meetings, and there were many written at the time, made any mention of remarks concerning Huxley's monkey ancestors, or claimed that he made a fool of the bishop. To the contrary, many thought the bishop had the better of it, and even many of the committed Darwinians thought it at most a draw.

Moreover, as all of the scholars present at Oxford knew, prior to the meeting, Bishop Wilberforce had penned a review of *The Origin* in which he fully acknowledged the principle of natural selection as the source of variations within species. He rejected Darwin's claims concerning the origin of species, however, and some of these criticisms were sufficiently compelling that Darwin immediately wrote his friend the botanist J. D. Hooker that the article "is uncommonly clever; it picks out with skill all the most conjectural parts, and brings forward well all the difficulties. It quizzes me quite splendidly." In a subsequent letter to geologist Charles Lyell, Darwin acknowledges that "the bishop makes a very telling case against me." Indeed, several of Wilberforce's comments caused Darwin to make modifications in a later revision of the book.

The tale of the foolish and narrow-minded bishop seems to have thrived as a revealing "truth" about the incompatibility of religion and science simply because many of its tellers wanted to believe that a bishop is wrong by nature. J. R. Lucas, who debunked the bishop myth, has suggested that the "most important reason why the legend grew" is, first, because academics generally "know nothing outside their own special subject" and therefore easily believe that outsiders are necessarily ignorant, and, second, because Huxley encouraged that conclusion. "The quarrel between religion and science was what Huxley wanted; and as Darwin's theory gained supporters, they took over his view of the incident."

Since then the Darwinian Crusade has tried to focus all attention on the most unqualified and most vulnerable opponents, and when no easy targets present themselves it has invented them. Huxley "made straw men of the 'creationists,'" as his biographer Desmond admitted. Even today it is a rare textbook or any popular treatment of evolution and religion that does not reduce "creationism" to the simplest caricatures.

This tradition remains so potent that whenever it is asked that evolution be presented as "only a theory," the requester is ridiculed as a buffoon. Even when the great philosopher of science Karl Popper suggested that the standard version of evolution even falls short of being a scientific theory, being instead an untestable tautology, he was subjected to public condemnations and much personal abuse.

Popper's tribulations illustrate an important basis for the victory of Darwinism: A successful appeal for a united front on the part of scientists to oppose religious opposition has had the consequence of silencing dissent within the scientific community. The eminent observer Everett Olson notes that there is "a generally silent group" of biological scientists "who tend to disagree with much of the current thought" about evolution, but who remain silent for fear of censure.

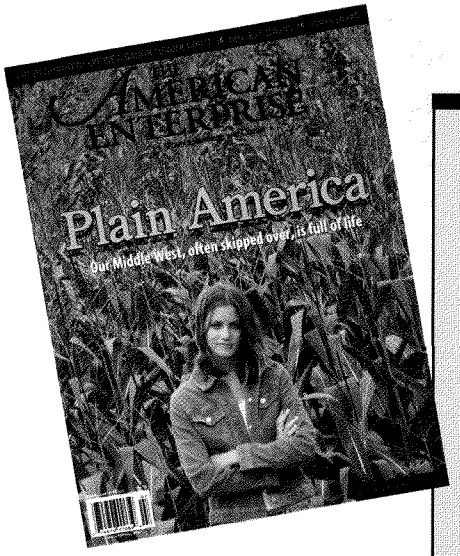
I believe that one day there will be a plausible theory of the origin of species. But, if and when that occurs, there will be nothing in any such theory that makes it impossible to propose that the principles involved were not part of God's great design any more than such a theory will demonstrate the existence of God. But, while we wait, why not lift the requirement that high school texts enshrine Darwin's failed attempt as an eternal truth?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pick A Free Issue

Subscribe or Renew NOW

& choose a FREE issue from our collection of greatest hits!



- ☐ **Plain America**—James Lileks, Bill Kauffman, Blake Hurst, Joel Kotkin & others describe the fascinations of our often-overlooked Middle West. "Live" with Colorado governor Bill Owens. Also: Samuel Huntington explains that, yes, ours is a Christian nation. (J/A '04)
- ☐ **Global Capitalism**—Is it running us over? Frenchman Jean-Francois Revel, Swede Johan Norberg, Indian Jagdish Bhagwati, and several esteemed Americans explain what's really going on. "Live" with Fed Ex founder Fred Smith. (June '04)
- ☐ **The Guerilla War**—Karl Zinsmeister re-embeds with U.S. soldiers in Baghdad and Fallujah. Vivid, unorthodox, firsthand reporting (with photos) of the U.S. fight to remake Iraq. (A/M '04)
- ☐ **Biotech Bounty**—Leading scientists, a Greenpeace co-founder, members of the President's Council on Bioethics, and others discuss how to reap the promises and avoid the pitfalls of the dawning biotech era. (March '04)
- ☐ **Warriors, Messiahs, Governors, and Generals**—Karl Zinsmeister gives thanks for America's warrior class. Michael Medved and Rabbi Daniel Lapin defend Mel Gibson's *Passion*. Chris DeMuth on why senators almost never get elected President. Plus: Arnold Schwarzenegger vs. Indian gambling. (J/F '04)
- ☐ **View from Abroad**—What Do Europeans, Iraqis, and people around the world think of the U.S.? Jean-Francois Revel, Fouad Ajami, Newt Gingrich & AEI scholars explain. TAE special: the first scientific poll of Iraqi public opinion. (Dec '03)
- ☐ **Things Go Better with God**—Charles Murray, Rodney Stark, Joel Kotkin, and Karl Zinsmeister on faith and human accomplishment. Also: Dennis Miller "Live." (O/N '03)
- ☐ **Real Men: They're Back**—Mona Charen, Kate O'Beirne, Charlotte Hays, Michael Ledeen, Christina Hoff Sommers, Ben Stein, and others dish on the state of modern manhood. (S '03)
- ☐ **How the Media Press Our Hot Buttons**—Jonah Goldberg, Karina Rollins, John Lott, Joel Kotkin, and Steven Hayward take a hard look at the media's coverage of: media bias, the Iraq war, guns, yuppies & bohemians, and the environment. Also: Laura Ingraham "Live." (J/A '03)
- ☐ **How America's SWAT Team Helped Swat Saddam**—TAE editor in chief Karl Zinsmeister spends two months embedded with the 82nd Airborne during the Iraq war. He shares his war journal here. Also: Miss Manners "Live." (June '03)
- ☐ **Race, Broken Schools, & Affirmative Action**—Ward Connerly and John McWhorter on racial preferences. Clint Bolick relates school choice to improving life for minorities. (A/M '03)
- ☐ **Civil War**—Acclaimed re-examination of the struggle that saved the United States. Victor Davis Hanson, Jay Winik, Dinesh D'Souza, Robert Duvall, Catherine Crier, Andrew Sullivan. (M '03)
- ☐ **American Originals** Inspiring stories about Real Americans who have made, and continue to make, this country great. Andres Duany, Christopher Hitchens, Linda Chavez, Bobby Knight. (O/N '02)
- ☐ **College Campuses** Politically, they're some of the most intolerant places in the U.S. Our stunning original research proves that conservatives are almost extinct in the faculty lounges. (S '02)
- ☐ **The Slavery Reparation Controversy** John McWhorter and Deroy Murdock discuss the flawed logic behind the argument. Also: our sick postal system's future. (J/A '01)
- ☐ **Deep Inside America's Military Academies** James Webb, Pat Conroy, Bill Kauffman, and others in a special 12 month in-depth investigation. Also: Chris Matthews "Live." (J/A '99)
- ☐ Or name another back issue of your choice.

Start a one-year subscription to *The American Enterprise,* or extend your existing subscription (in either case at our standard one-year price of $28), and **we'll send you a classic back issue at no extra charge** (a $7 value).

Fill in your subscriber's information. Then mark the free back issue you'd like, and we'll send it at the same time we process your subscription order.

Copy or tear out and mail to:
The American Enterprise
109 Briarcliffe Road
Dewitt, NY 13214
or FAX to 315.449.3242

(You may also print out this form at www.TAEmag.com/subscriptions/pageID.36/default.asp)

☐ Please start my one-year subscription to *The American Enterprise.* (AFBS04)

☐ Please extend my current subscription by one year. (EFBS04)

Name .....

Address .....

.....

City .....

State .....Zip .....

Phone .....

☐ Check for $28 (made out to *The American Enterprise*) enclosed.
☐ Bill my VISA/MC/AMEX

Card # .....

Expires .....

Sign .....

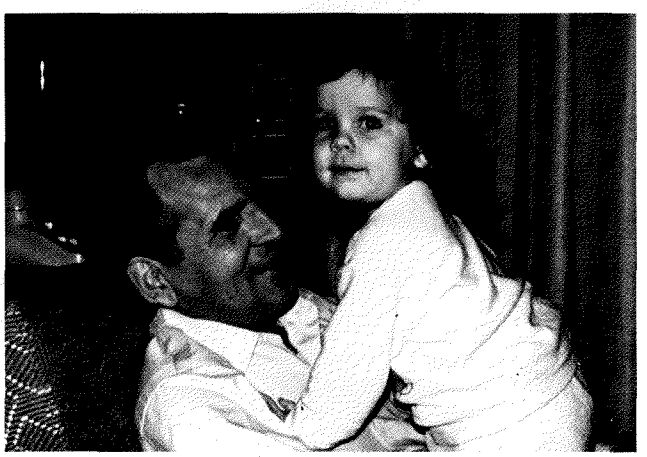
THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

TAEmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Life With Father

By Karina Rollins



Harvey Rollins and his two-and-a-half-year-old daughter, Karina.

My father never tossed a softball with me. He never took me hiking. He never taught me how to start a campfire.

Thank goodness.

Had he been the type of person to do those things, he wouldn't have been the exceptional force in my life that he is. My father was the 14-year-old kid who spent his allowance on a record player and classical LPs, making him an outcast and bona fide nerd. Later, despite looks that put Cary Grant to shame, he was still a loner, swimming against the tide, devouring records and books along the way.

Since I was little, we listened to music together, and do so to this day. My father opened the glorious world of classical music to me, but that's not the only music we listened to. It was not at a party at a friend's house, but on the sofa in our living room, sitting next to my father, that I first heard Pink Floyd, Bruce Springsteen, and The Alan Parsons Project.

Our huge living room was essentially a library with a couch, television set, and a (superb) hi-fi set-up, including a subwoofer that my father built himself. The walls were lined with the bookshelves and record cabinets that my father designed. My friends were in awe of the sheer volume of books and records that filled the room, and I pitied them when I thought of their barren homes, with not much more reading material than a TV guide and the perfunctory Bible.

At our house, my atheist father stocked the library with multiple Bibles, one of his many intellectual pursuits being Biblical scholarship. Always one to share the delights of his mind with his daughter, he read me bedtime stories from the Old Testament.

When I was in fifth grade, I wanted to go to Sunday school, and my father drove me every week. He once told me, as a thought experiment, to consider that there are two things God cannot do: He can't make a square that's round; and He can't make an object so heavy that He can't lift it. I blabbed that witticism to my Sunday school teacher, sweet-hearted Mr. Hall, who worried for my soul, convinced I was repeating those words from someone who was trying to keep me from God.

If only he knew. I thought my father *was* God.

As an adult, both my parents continue to watch over my welfare. When my mother visits, she brings my favorite wine, cleans my apartment, and inspects the fridge to make sure I'm eating right. My dad brings books and magazines bulging with Post-It notes marking the pages he wants me to read. He wouldn't notice if I didn't eat for a week, but makes sure I have excellent stereo equipment and that I don't run low on CDs.

One might call my father decent to a fault. A chainsmoker, if he finishes a cigarette and there's no trash can nearby, he puts it out on the sole of his shoe and puts the butt in his pocket, leaving his pockets full of burn holes and loose tobacco. When he goes shopping and fishes for change to pay the cashier, he ends up strewing bits of tobacco on the counter with the coins. Am I embarrassed when this happens? Bite your tongue. I'd be embarrassed if he threw his butts onto the sidewalk like everyone else.

My father is an imperfect man. He stores newspapers in his kitchen cabinets, doesn't clean his house, and hauls home bags of books and magazines from his regular Barnes & Noble excursions, adding to the ever-increasing piles of brain food in every room in the house. He can be difficult and irritable and, by his own admission, selfish.

My father is also the man who made up a special lullaby for me, which he sang to me every night, year after year, until I turned ten and felt too old for such things. My father is the man who always pushed me (and still does) to think critically, to strive for knowledge, and to settle for no less than truth. It's because of my father that I love Stravinsky and Civil War history and *Star Wars*. I can't catch a softball, but I know how to shop for loudspeakers and solder speaker wire together.

A daughter's life doesn't get better than that.

Karina Rollins is a TAE *senior editor, but will always remain her daddy's little girl.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—Cicero

The Prophet Who Ran for President

By Bill Kauffman

Q: Who was the first U.S. Presidential candidate to be assassinated? The folks in the best position to win this toughest of all bar bets are, alas, usually absent from the bar. They are the Mormons, and the answer to this question is none other than Joseph Smith, "The Prophet," founder of their faith and independent candidate for the Presidency in 1844.

Smith biographer Fawn Brodie denies that his candidacy was motivated by "preposterous megalomania." Rather, Smith seems to have run for the more mundane reason of defending his flock. Unable to obtain redress at the federal level for the Mormon persecutions in Missouri, Smith called states rights "a stink offering in the nose of the Almighty" and demanded protection from Washington.

In November 1843 he asked the leading candidates for President, Henry Clay, John Calhoun, Richard Johnson, Lewis Cass, and Martin Van Buren, "What will be your rule of action relative to us as a people should fortune favor your ascendancy to the chief magistracy?"

In best strict construction fashion, none gave him satisfaction. Clay offered the example of "my whole life, character and conduct" as pledge that he would treat the Mormons justly, to which Smith replied, "Your 'whole life, character and conduct' have been spotted with deeds that cause a blush upon the face of a virtuous patriot; so you must be contented with your lot, while crime, cowardice, cupidity or low cunning have handed you down from the high tower of a statesman to the black hole of a gambler."

A Smith-Clay alliance seemed doubtful.

Declaring, "We have as good a right to make a political party to gain power to defend ourselves as for demagogues to make use of our religion to get power to destroy us," Joseph Smith launched an independent candidacy for President.

Smith set out his views in a curious eight-page document which Mormon missionaries distributed throughout the country. His platform blended pique and prophecy, the quotidian and the exotically idealistic. Angry that Congress had not responded to Mormon cries for help, he pledged to "reduce Congress at least one half" and cut members' pay.

Like the nascent Liberty Party, Smith took up the cause of abolition, which will surprise those who know Mormonism only as the faith that denied the priesthood to blacks until 1978. "Break the shackles from the poor black man," he pled, suggesting that slaveowners might be compensated by revenues from the sale of public lands.

Sailing in the mainstream, Smith promised "more economy...less taxes" and a "judicious tariff," and lest the reader suspect that the Prophet had forgotten his own people, he called for the President to be granted "full power to send an army to suppress mobs," even over the objection of a state's governor.

What is most beguiling about the document, however, is Smith's view of crime and punishment: He was against both. "Petition your state legislatures to pardon every convict in their several penitentiaries," Smith urged, "blessing them as they go, and saying to them in the name of the Lord, *go thy way and sin no more*." Try running on that platform in Utah today.

Joseph Smith opposed incarceration for all crimes but murder. Try running on that platform in Utah today.

Smith opposed incarceration for all crimes but murder. Instead, miscreants ought to work on the roads or "any place where the culprit can be taught more wisdom and more virtue." Smith reminded those hardhearts who doubted that criminals might be reformed that "Love conquers all."

On June 27, 1844, Joseph Smith was murdered by an Illinois mob in the Carthage jail, where he had been confined for ordering the burning of an anti-Mormon printing press. Freedom of the press met freedom of religion, and both lost.

Smith's rallying cries of "Theodemocracy!" and "Open the prisons!" never quite caught on. But the founder of the most successful American-born religion did speak in the native tongue, rising to almost Whitmanesque effusions: "Oh, then, create confidence! Restore freedom! Break down slavery! Banish imprisonment for debt, and be in love, fellowship, and peace with all the world."

Or as a later non-Mormon, Elvis Costello, once sang, What's so funny 'bout peace, love, and understanding?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The hand that rules the press…rules the country—Judge Learned Hand

The God-Fearing Media

By Chris Weinkopf

"Do most Americans realize just how fervent the President's evangelical faith is?"

So asks the *New York Times*' Alessandra Stanley, in her review of the PBS "Frontline" documentary, "The Jesus Factor," which examines the role of faith in George W. Bush's life and Presidency. Stanley believes that Americans would be distressed to know that Bush engages in such outlandish behavior as daily Bible-reading, prayer, and allowing his spiritual life to inform his political one. After all, *she* is.

Among members of the establishment media, Stanley is not alone. In its review, the *Los Angeles Times* describes the President as possessed by "a fervor that might take everyone, even [Bush's parents] by surprise." The *New York Daily News* calls "Jesus Factor" filmmaker Raney Aronson "impressively open-minded and objective," but concludes that, "based on the evidence presented, the same cannot be said of President Bush."

It's hard to imagine similar treatment of other major politicians. No one would ever suggest that Joe Lieberman is, well, too Jewish for the Presidency. Nor did the press ever much fret that being Baptist might have rendered Jimmy Carter or Bill Clinton immune to critical thinking. The media typically portray Senator John Kerry's heterodox brand of Catholicism as a badge of honor.

But Bush is different—a devout, observant, conservative believer. As far as the establishment media are concerned, he might just as well be from Mars.

Still, "The Jesus Factor" goes to great lengths to portray Bush's faith evenhandedly. It is not the documentary that speaks ominously of Bush's "fervor," but its reviewers. Why could that be?

Well, consider what Aronson said, in an NPR interview, about people's responses to an anecdote in her film: "Secular people, when they heard that the President felt called to run for the Presidency by God, felt very alarmed. What I found on the religious side was, well, they weren't alarmed at all. In fact, they were comforted by this idea."

As with an inkblot test, reactions to "The Jesus Factor" say more about the viewer than the documentary itself. People with religious faith, and those who bear no animus toward them, found the program's depiction of Bush inspiring. Diehard secularists found it frightening. And while the American public might straddle that cultural divide, the media elite almost uniformly fall on the anti-religion side.

Even PBS can't avoid a certain sense of bemusement in its descriptions of these earnest Bible-thumpers. At times, its documentary takes on the same curiously detached tone of a *National Geographic* special on African bushmen, describing in fascinated detail the strange, alien beliefs that, to much of the American public, are simply part of everyday life.

The announcer explains, in that serious, public-broadcasting voice: "*Conservative evangelicals consider the Bible to be the word of God, and without error.… To evangelicals, it is not their Christian denomination that connects them but a series of beliefs. One of the most important is committing yourself to Jesus Christ, or being 'born again.'*"

You almost expect him to continue: "*While the men are out hunting lions, the women fashion nose rings from the bones of small rodents.*"

But to the blue-state, secularized urbanites who dominate most major media, an evangelical—or, for that matter, a devout, conservative religious person of any kind—is truly a foreign creature. Thus the confusing, often contradictory reporting about Bush's faith. Depending on the story, he's either a self-righteous true-believer who won't let anything stand in the way of his mission from God, or he's a phony who invokes "the Almighty" to score points with the much-maligned Christian Right.

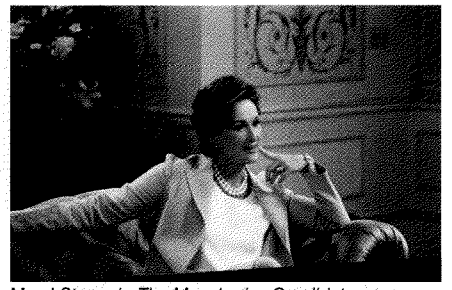
Yet for all the mainstream media's consternation over Bush's religion, the American public takes a decidedly different view. "The Jesus Factor" notes—to the dismay of some reviewers—that the two Bush Presidencies prove that a candidate can lose every other demographic and still win the White House on the strength of the evangelical vote alone. Lost on the producers, and for that matter, the critics, is an understanding of what that means: These odd religious creatures aren't radically outside the mainstream; they *are* the mainstream.

Yes, the American people know how religious the President is. The real question is, do most reporters realize just how "fervent" the American public is?

Chris Weinkopf is editorial page editor at the Los Angeles Daily News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now Playing



Meryl Streep in *The Manchurian Candidate.*

Sony Picture Classics/Chan Kam Chuen

Who's Pulling the Strings?

By Josh Larsen

Forget rocking the vote. The movies, not MTV, may have normally disinterested voters going to the polls this November.

On the heels of such issue-minded summer fare as *The Day After Tomorrow* and *Fahrenheit 9/11* comes nothing less than a remake of the 1962 political thriller, *The Manchurian Candidate*. The original was a work of unnerving paranoia for paranoid times. Can the same be said of this new version?

The basic premise, taken from Richard Condon's novel, remains the same: Raymond Shaw, a brainwashed war hero, is the key to a plot to gain control of the Presidency. When Bennett Marco, another member of the hero's combat unit—played by Frank Sinatra in 1962 and Denzel Washington now—suspects his own mind may have been messed with, he begins to unravel the sinister plan.

Both movies spin tantalizing conspiracy theories uniquely fitted to their respective eras. The original opens in 1952 Korea, where communist scientists do the brainwashing in cahoots with a power-mad American senator's wife (Angela Lansbury). That the woman also happens to be Raymond Shaw's mother adds a layer of Greek tragedy to the proceedings.

The new take from director Jonathan Demme (*The Silence of the Lambs, Beloved*) moves the military theater to 1991 Kuwait. The villains still include Shaw's mother (Meryl Streep) but also—in a bit Michael Moore would love—a shady investment firm and arms manufacturer called Manchurian Global. (Communist bad guys are *so* 1980s.)

The new *Manchurian Candidate* sends off creepy, through-the-looking-glass vibes. Demme establishes his contemporary milieu in subtle ways, such as the newspaper headline "Mob Kills Muslim at University," or radio snippets announcing another U.S. anti-terror operation in far-off places like Indonesia. Such touches resonate, especially when I'm writing this on a public bus in which a video screen reminds passengers that we're under an "elevated" terror alert.

Demme and screenwriters Daniel Pyne and Dean Georgaris have crafted a tight, claustrophobic thriller, but it is the cast that ultimately sells their loopy story. In the role of Marco, Washington brings a sweaty urgency to each moment he's on screen. Marco makes for a frightening audience surrogate; he's the guy who gets to realize our worst fears.

Streep nearly steals the picture, much like Lansbury did in the original. This time around, the character is herself a senator, and Streep plays her as a deranged idealist with Hillary Clinton's ambition and what leftists perceive as John Ashcroft's sense of justice.

In the vital role of Shaw, the unfortunate son, original star Laurence Harvey gives way to Liev Schreiber (*The Sum of All Fears*), who has just the right blankness and eerie smile to portray a brainwash victim. His Shaw is a dangerous cipher, and a clever riff on every elected mannequin we've ever had.

The Manchurian Candidate takes a few potshots—it reserves its sharpest jabs for Dick Cheney—but the movie's liberal politics never become strident. They are first and foremost in the service of a crackling story, one that is often critically apropos for these tense, contentious days.

Perhaps not since the early 1960s, when the postwar euphoria began to give way to the strife of social revolution, has the office of the Presidency seemed so vital—and so desperately important for idealists and power-mongers alike to attain. *The Manchurian Candidate* taps into this charged political atmosphere and nudges it into the realm of conspiracy. It plays like reality squared.

The movie may prove so jolting and disconcerting to audiences that it galvanizes apathetic Americans to take new interest in the ballot box. As a political recruiter, Hollywood is often a laughing-stock—stars go on and on about saving the rain forests while press kits for their movies proclaim their talent across inch-think reams of full-color, glossed paper. *The Manchurian Candidate* opens the door for a far more intelligent convergence of politics and popular culture. The movie provokes, but never hectors. For all its hyperbole, it poses critical questions. How do we maintain vigilance without succumbing to hysteria? How big is the gap between automaton politicians and real Americans?

Perhaps most important, the picture could get more people to consider whom we should entrust with the nation's highest office. Or: Who do we want pulling that office's strings?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sex, Religion, and AIDS

By James Glassman

You would think the country that contributes twice as much money to fight AIDS globally as the rest of the world combined, and whose drug companies developed the medicines that stopped the progression of HIV, would get a little applause, or at least respect, at a giant conference on AIDS like the one held in Bangkok in July.

But you would be wrong. The country in question, of course, is the United States, and instead of praise, it got vilification. Why? The reason that resonated most was that "the Bush Administration panders to the religious Right," in the words of Sebastian Mallaby, a Brit and *Washington Post* columnist who otherwise admires Bush's AIDS policy.

Specifically, as Bill Bowtell, president of the Australian Federation of AIDS Organizations, put it, "The money was to be spent as the United States wished—to promote abstinence from sexual activity" even though "there is simply no scientific or evidence-based research to support the claim that abstinence works to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS."

Rupert Everett, the movie actor, condemned the U.S. at the Bangkok conference for "its judgmental attitude toward this subject we are dealing with—sex." And Rep. Barbara Lee (D-CA) said "an abstinence-until-marriage program is not only irresponsible, it's really inhumane."

All of these criticisms fit the stereotype promoted by Europeans and fellow American sophisticates: that the President and his supporters are religious nuts who think sex is bad and are imposing their pious values in a dangerous way on public policy.

In fact, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief will spend less than 7 percent of its budget on abstinence programs. Abstinence is "A" in the U.S. Agency for International Development's balanced "ABC" approach to prevention ("B" is "be faithful," and "C" is "condoms"). And it clearly works. Just ask Yoweri Museveni, president of Uganda, where the national prevalence of HIV infection dropped from 15 percent of the population in the early 1990s to 5 percent in 2001.

Museveni told the Bangkok conference that "AIDS is mainly a moral, social, and economic problem" and that the best way to fight it is with "relationships based on love and trust, instead of institutionalized mistrust, which is what the condom is all about." The key to the drop in infections in Uganda was a delay in the average age of a woman's first sexual experience and a reduction in the number of her partners. Abstinence works.

As for condoms, they work, too, and the U.S. advocates their use. In fact, the State Department reports that this year America will donate 550 million condoms to poor countries (compared with 186 million in 1999 under Clinton).

Yes, the United States is a religious country. The Declaration of Independence says that people are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights." Our Constitution prescribes tolerance as well, and makes citizens responsible for their own judgment. As my colleague Michael Novak writes, "The whole point of liberty is this: Every choice makes a difference, for the fate of every soul and for the fate of the republic."

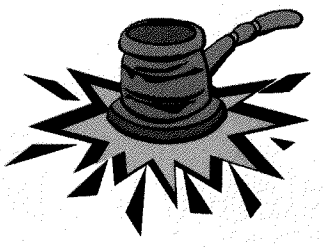
AIDS is a terrible disease, but it can largely be prevented by responsible behavior.

AIDS is a terrible disease, but we know it can largely be prevented by responsible behavior. Certainly, policymakers can't expect every young person to abstain from sex before marriage. But to devote one dollar out of 15 to programs that encourage abstinence is not "irresponsible" or "inhumane." Quite the opposite.

The real question is how people like Bowtell, Everett, and Lee can miss this point. One answer is that they instinctively hate the U.S. for its religiosity. Another is that they consider sex primal and irresistible. A third, much more troubling, is that many people simply don't believe humans have free will. Such a belief in personal helplessness is the foundation stone of socialism and fascism.

President Bush's AIDS program is built on a very different base: a trust in well-informed people to make good decisions, a respect for strongly held religious and moral principles, and a belief in the beneficial power of sound science in a free economy. Those are values we need to stick with—no matter what our oh-so-sophisticated critics say.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Tribune of the Trial Lawyers

By Grover Norquist

On June 28, the United States transferred power from the occupying coalition to the Iraqi provisional government led by Iyad Allawi.

A little more than a week later, John Kerry's selection of North Carolina senator John Edwards as his running mate signaled a formal power transfer of a different kind: the handover of the Democratic Party from Organized Labor to Trial Lawyers. Neither of the other building blocks of the Democratic Party were in a position to assume control: The solid South has joined the other team, and the African-American vote, though the largest Democratic voting group, has only been employed to row the Democratic boat, not invited to steer.

John Edwards' status as the tribune of the small-but-wealthy-and-powerful trial lawyer class is his only asset. He doesn't bring a state to the ticket, as Lyndon Johnson did with Texas in 1960. He doesn't bring ideological balance as Joe Lieberman did for the more liberal Gore; as Nixon did for Eisenhower; and as George H. W. Bush did for Reagan.

In fact, Edwards is running for Vice President partly because his left-of-center voting record would have made it difficult for him to get elected to a second term. While John Kerry was rated the most liberal senator by *National Journal*, Edwards was tied for second most liberal with two others—Ted Kennedy and Barbara Boxer.

And Edwards doesn't bring *gravitas* or experience. He had no political role before his now less-than-one term as senator.

John Edwards has energized businessmen, the self-employed, and professionals like doctors against the Democrats.

The selection of Edwards has energized the sleepy part of the center-right coalition—businessmen and women, the self-employed, and professionals like doctors. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce announced that while it has never bothered to make an endorsement in a Presidential campaign in the past, it is making one against the trial lawyer Edwards. The Democrat who runs the National Association of Manufacturers is doing the same.

Republican politicians in the 1940s and '50s used to rail against the labor union bosses. At that time, strikes paralyzed whole industries and regions, and one third of the workforce was paying union dues. Union membership as a percentage of the entire workforce has fallen from 20 percent in 1980 to 13.5 percent today (encompassing 33 percent of government workers and 8 percent of private sector workers).

Few small businessmen or professionals wake up fearing that their three employees will join a labor union. But every businessman or woman, every self-employed doctor, nurse, or professional, has a very real fear that a baseless lawsuit could cost thousands of dollars and days out of his or her life. Labor unions drain $8 billion in dues from workers forced to pay dues; trial lawyers extract $200 billion from the economy and keep $40 billion for themselves.

While the Edwards selection energizes congenital Republicans in the small business community, Kerry's greatest danger may come from John Edwards' natural enemies in the Democratic Party—every single Democrat who hopes someday to be President himself. If Kerry wins, the Presidency is closed to other Democrats in 2008 as Kerry runs for re-election. Edwards, who has parlayed a four-year stint in the Senate into a Presidential bid and Vice Presidential nomination, is fully capable of using eight years as Vice President to lock up the Democratic nomination in 2012.

This contrasts with the incentives the Bush-Cheney ticket gives to all Republicans with Presidential ambitions. They know Cheney's health problems leave an open seat for Republicans in 2008, assuming a Bush-Cheney victory this November. A loss, on the other hand, means a fight upstream against a Democratic incumbent.

Edwards' one asset against the near and far enemies he motivates is his ability to raise trial-lawyer dollars. Those funds might allow the Democratic ticket to forgo public funds in the last months of the campaign. Should the additional money allow Kerry and Edwards to win, there will be no doubt who is in charge of the modern Democratic Party, and perhaps the nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Health Care Economist

Doctoring the Data

By Betsy McCaughey

The national debate over health care is so polarized that many people don't seem to care about the facts any more. An article in the prestigious journal *Health Affairs* comparing the quality of health care in the U.S. and four other countries—the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada—purports to show that the U.S. spends far more per capita without getting better results. Major newspapers parroted the claim: "U.S. Patients Spend More But Don't Get More, Study Finds," read a *Washington Post* headline. "U.S. Isn't No. 1," the *Christian Science Monitor* announced.

The danger is that this study ("How Does the Quality of Care Compare in Five Countries?") will be flaunted by advocates of government-run, single-payer health care. One of the study's authors, Professor Arnold Epstein of the Harvard School of Public Health, told reporters the findings should make Americans reconsider their allegiance to private health care. Not so fast.

The study claims that the U.S. ranks lowest in survival rates for kidney and liver transplant recipients. Low survival rates mean transplant patients in the U.S. received lower quality care, "assuming that transplant recipients in the five countries are similar," the authors glibly write. That assumption is dead wrong. Transplant recipients are *not* similar. The U.S. alone among the countries surveyed routinely offers transplants to patients over age 65 and re-transplants if the first one fails.

Astoundingly, the study fails to examine the treatment of heart disease, the most costly health problem in the United States. How can the authors claim to prove that higher U.S. spending on health care doesn't produce better results if their study doesn't even examine where the largest single portion of the money goes?

In the U.S., treating a heart attack costs at least $10,000 more (in real dollars) than it did in 1984, but heart patients now live longer and have fewer restrictions on their activities than they did in earlier decades. Higher costs are producing longer and better lives.

In the U.K., costs have been kept down by delaying the adoption of new technology, limiting its availability, and rationing access to specialists. A report in the May/June 2001 *Health Affairs* shows that the mortality rate from coronary heart disease is 36 percent higher in the U.K., and that some 30,000 deaths there could be prevented each year "by increasing the use of effective treatments."

The "Five Countries" study finds that all the countries perform about the same in cancer care, which is not surprising. Many cancers are treated primarily with drugs, and new drugs are exported and put into use by other countries far more quickly than costly technology. One exception is breast cancer. In New Zealand, technology shortages and 12-week waits for treatment are outraging breast cancer patients, who have aimed some of their anger at Dr. Colin Feek, a high-level New Zealand health official. Feek is a co-author of the "Five Countries" study. No wonder he's eager to prove that health care is just as good in New Zealand as in the U.S.: He's being pummeled in the press. He's an apologist, not a credible, disinterested author.

Is the uncritical acceptance of the "Five Countries" study an aberration? Unfortunately, no. Advocates of nationalized health care also routinely cite the World Health Organization's Report 2000, which ranks the U.S. 37th, near the bottom, among health systems. How could that be? It's all in what is measured. The WHO measures infant mortality, for example, a statistic more affected by drug use and teen and pre-teen pregnancy than by the quality of a country's medical care. WHO also uses such subjective standards as: How fairly is the burden of paying for health care distributed? That is an ideological question, not a measure of medical care quality.

The American health system has shortcomings, including inadequate use of information technology, waste and inefficiency, and a costly medical liability system. But before Americans are misled into swapping their expensive health care for a government-run system, they need reliable evidence about what matters most: When patients are sick, do they get the quality medical care they need? The answer requires fair comparisons, not doctored data.

Betsy McCaughey, former lieutenant governor of New York, is a fellow at the Hudson Institute.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Real Business, Real Small

By Mark Hemingway

The concept of giving very small loans to the poorest of the poor to help them establish businesses first emerged some 30 years ago. Since then, "microfinance" programs around the world have exploded. And they have proven very successful and cost-effective.

Ruth is living proof. She is a mother who lives in the Filipino slum of Tondo, outside Manila. Nearly half of Tondo's citizens live in a state of abject poverty, according to the World Bank. The neighborhood has little infrastructure other than sporadic electricity, and the tin shacks in this vast squatter area are inhabited by as many as 250,000 people.

However, Ruth has been able to parlay a series of microfinance loans (some as small as $60 U.S.) into a growing enterprise that brightens the slums of Tondo like a desert flower. She owns what the Filipinos call a Sari-Sari store—a counter at the front of her home where she sells everything from canned goods to candy to baked items.

She also owns the shack across the muddy path from her store, and uses it for an array of purposes: storing inventory, including some she wholesales to other Sari-Saris; hatching eggs in an incubator (as many a 50 at a time, which she then sells locally); and operating a "movie theater" where local children sit on wooden benches and watch pirated Hollywood films for 5 pesos (about 10 cents U.S.).

While Ruth's income from these ventures is statistically insignificant according to most economic measures, her entrepreneurial efforts have tangible benefits for her family. In addition to regular meals—a luxury that many of her neighbors cannot afford—Ruth's business income allows her occasionally to purchase new clothing and shoes for her children. She and her children may one day get out of Tondo for good.

A central idea behind microfinance is that it is not charity.

The Center for Community Transformation, the microfinance institution (MFI) that has given Ruth her loans, currently enjoys a 95 percent repayment rate. This is an astonishing rate in what should be a high-risk enterprise. Five years ago, the Center had a loan repayment rate that hovered around 50 percent. At that time it practiced group lending. Originally, group lending was the preferred method for distributing microfinance loans. The assumption was that the very poor with no economic track record could be lent money in groups, which would cover the risk of the individual members. If one person in a group couldn't make his debt repayment one particular month, the burden would be spread among the larger collectivity. But this proved less successful at encouraging loan repayment than individual lending. And many MFIs have been forced to adopt a you-can't-save-the-world-if-you-can't-pay-the-rent attitude. So there has been a shift toward individual lending.

A central idea behind microfinance is that it is not charity. It is supposed to be a profitable banking industry that encourages economic vigor among the poor. That requires identifying individuals with energy and ideas and encouraging them. One problem with the shift to individual lending is that microfinance institutions increasingly seem to be fighting over a small set of people like Ruth who have demonstrated their entrepreneurial abilities and already have a successful business.

This also explains why repayment rates have increased, though it's not necessarily an indicator of successful economic development. The original mission of microfinance was to bring business thinking to new places and people. According to George Mason University economist Steve Daley, microfinance organizations "don't distinguish between the poor and the economically active poor, they distinguish between good risk and bad risk as a financial institution."

Many such organizations are now so focused on the bottom line, they aren't putting enough effort into cultivating entrepreneurship where it doesn't exist yet but could take root given some support and encouragement. Microfinance institutions are now at a crossroads. They must find a balance between being able to pay their own rent and providing an ever expanding circle of people with the capital and guidance that can help them become agents of long-term growth. It won't be easy.

Mark Hemingway is a Global Prosperity Initiative fellow with the Mercatus Center.

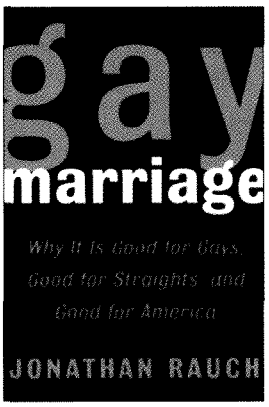
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BookTalk

HERE COME THE GROOMS?

By Vincent Phillip Muñoz

Gay Marriage: Why It Is Good for Gays, Good for Straights, and Good for America
By Jonathan Rauch
Times Books, 224 pages, $22



If homosexual marriage is ever democratically (as opposed to judicially) legislated, it will be because of the case made by individuals like Jonathan Rauch. In *Gay Marriage*, Rauch eschews legal and liberationist assertions and instead argues on the merits that homosexual marriage is, as his subtitle maintains, good for gays, good for straights, and good for America.

The book's great virtue is its straightforwardness. Rauch's first chapter asks: What is marriage for—why does society privilege marriage legally? His threefold answer is: to provide a healthy environment for children, to settle the young (especially men), and to provide reliable caregivers (especially in the case of catastrophe). Rauch assumes such interests are severable—that is, raising children can be separated from marriage as a domesticating and care-giving institution. This allows him to leave children out of his definition of marriage: the legal recognition of two people's lifelong commitment to care for each other.

For obvious reasons, Rauch emphasizes domestication and care-giving in his case for same-sex marriage. Gay marriage, he asserts, would make gay men grow up. Within a generation or so, he believes, most would abandon the current culture of libertinism and adopt the conventional view that love, sex, and marriage go together. The possibility of marriage would elevate gay men's expectations (Rauch says little about lesbians in this context) and open them to the idea that security, happiness, and health are found in stable, committed, life-long relationships.

Not only would gay marriage be good for gay men, Rauch maintains that it would be good for marriage itself. By adopting same-sex matrimony, society could normalize the expectation that all couples should marry, thus de-legitimizing cohabitation. We could uniformly adopt what Rauch designates "Rule 1": If you want the benefits of marriage, get married.

The obvious rejoinder is that it is not so clear that children can be removed from our core understanding of marriage without fundamentally undermining the institution. Marriage, no doubt, is in a state of crisis, but not primarily because couples are failing to marry, as Rauch suggests. The decline of marriage coincides with society's acceptance of the separation of sex from procreation, and marriage from parenthood. The former made sex before (and outside of) marriage easier; the latter made cohabitation and divorce tolerable. Marriage started to fall apart, in other words, when couples started to think it was primarily about personal commitment and mutual care-giving and stopped thinking about marriage in terms of duty and responsibility toward children.

Rauch's assertion that heterosexual marriage would be strengthened by gay marriage seems fanciful at best. And insofar as legalized gay marriage would codify an understanding of marriage that has already had destructive effects, one can argue that it would contribute to the further decline of the institution.

Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of the book, however, is Rauch's failure to take seriously the philosophical arguments against his position. He rejects natural teleology—the idea that the function of something can be ascertained by what it exclusively does, and thus that human sexuality cannot be understood apart from procreation—as a sectarian religious dogma that cannot be referenced legitimately given the separation of church and state. But Aristotle—not the Catholic Church—is the intellectual progenitor of teleological thinking. The argument appeals to philosophical reasoning, not supernatural faith. Rauch's dismissal of it is intellectually lazy and in bad faith.

Rauch somewhat compensates for his lack of philosophical depth with sensible political recommendations. If we are going to sanction homosexual unions, Rauch implores us to adopt gay marriage and not some halfway house of civil unions or domestic partnerships. He argues convincingly that the alternatives institutionalize "marriage-lite," extend-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the benefits of marriage without the corresponding responsibilities or expectations. Civil unions, moreover, would inevitably be made accessible to heterosexual couples, further destabilizing traditional marriage.

Rauch also makes a strong case for federalism. Nationalization of gay marriage by either the judiciary or a Constitutional amendment would prohibit state experimentation, thus denying us valuable information by which we could measure the effects of gay marriage. Nationalization would also inflame the culture war that continues as a result of *Roe v. Wade*. Most important—and, unfortunately, largely absent from Rauch's analysis—settlement of the gay marriage issue by judicial decree would deprive the American people of their democratic right and responsibility to live under laws of their own creation.

If the American people are to address gay marriage deliberately and reasonably, they need to hear the best arguments from both sides. Jonathan Rauch provides the conservative case for gay marriage, and as such, whatever its faults, his book deserves to be read widely, carefully, and critically.

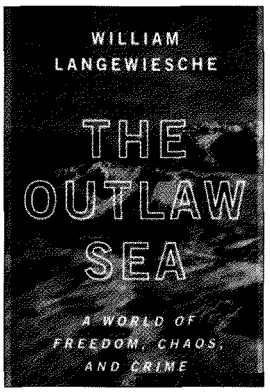
Vincent Phillip Muñoz is a Civitas fellow at AEI and an assistant professor of political philosophy at North Carolina State University.

TERROR AT SEA

By Brendan Conway

The Outlaw Sea: A World of Freedom, Chaos, and Crime
By William Langewiesche
North Point Press, 256 pages, $23

Shortly after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Italian maritime authorities stumbled upon a suspicious stowaway holed up in the bowels of a Maersk Sealand container ship docked at a southern Italian port. The stowaway had outfitted a room-size box in the ship's cargo deck with a laptop,



cell phone, drinking water, heater, a bed and a toilet—and airline tickets; false security passes for Canadian, Thai, and Egyptian airports; maps; and an aircraft technician certificate. He caused suspicion by drilling airholes noisily into his box.

Upon discovery, the stowaway was identified as Amid Farid Rizk, a naturalized Canadian citizen born in Egypt carrying a valid Canadian passport. Was he a terrorist?

Italian investigators feared the worst. Rizk claimed he was a convert to Christianity, and had been fleeing an overbearing brother-in-law in Cairo who objected to his conversion. He had spirited himself away in the ship to avoid detection. The appliances? He had planned to bring them to his mother in Montreal, he said. But the phone number he told authorities was his mother's turned out to be false. What about the bogus security passes and certificates? Rizk claimed he had once worked for Thai Airways and Olympic Airways. But neither firm had ever heard of him, the *Toronto Star* reported. "This man has things to hide," an Italian official told journalists. Then, when Rizk was released on bail in November, he slipped away, to the consternation of U.S. officials.

Rizk is the emblematic terrorist case in William Langewiesche's *The Outlaw Sea*, a book that claims that the oceans—not the skies, land frontiers, or water supply—are our greatest vulnerability. As Rizk's case demonstrates, finding a possible maritime terrorist is something of a coup. Rizk turned up only because several unusual factors converged: a heightened post-September 11 security climate, rare alertness on the part of generally overworked, unambitious port officials, and the noise of Mr. Rizk's airhole-drilling at the precise moment the officials passed through. Without these, Rizk almost certainly would have entered Canada undetected. He was but one small part of the massive commercial exchange taking place on the high seas. And given that the United States is both the most active maritime commercial nation anywhere and the prime target for terrorists, Langewiesche reminds us, this poses a serious problem.

Still, is it an insurmountable one? Langewiesche seems to think so, or at least is quite pessimistic on this count. He sees maritime terrorism as the latest reason to think the oceans are essentially indomitable. "Our world is an ocean world, and it is wild," he writes. "At a time when every last patch of land is claimed by one government or another, and when citizenship is treated as an absolute condition of human existence, the ocean is a realm that remains radically free," he writes. The problem is so bad, in Langewiesche's view, that the oceans come to represent something of an antithesis to civilization itself.

Langewiesche presents his arguments in the form of stories—harrowing, and told in exhaustive detail: a cargo ship captured by pirates and camouflaged; a massive Estonian ferry that capsizes in a matter of minutes, killing nearly 1,000; environmental catastrophes at the Indian beaches where old ships come to die and are carved up indiscriminately for scrap.

The first story reminds us that piracy still exists, and still eludes us. Langewiesche recounts how the *Alondra Rainbow*, a Panamanian-registered, Japanese-owned, Filipino-crewed cargo ship, was abducted by Malaysians and Indonesians off Jakarta in 1999, re-christened the *Mega Rama*, and almost sailed off undetected. The crew avoided a watery death when, weeks after the ship's abduction, the Indian navy took the unusual step of inspecting it, and apprehended the captors—solving one of the more than 1,200 cases of piracy reported worldwide since 1998.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The second story shows what happens when people get too complacent about safety and what they do when death on the oceans approaches. The ferry ship *Estonia* sank in the Baltic Sea in 1994. Langewiesche recounts the lax maintenance typical on ships like the *Estonia*, and from survivors' accounts pieces together the awful scramblings for life that took place in corridors and cabins in the moments before the ship went under.

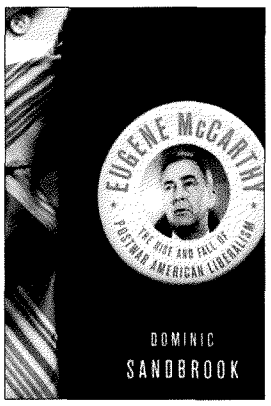
But do the stories show that "our world is an ocean world," or that it is "wild"? To a point, yes. But dwelling too long on those facts leads too readily to fatalism. And that's something we can't afford in the fight against terrorism, maritime or any other kind.

Brendan Conway is managing editor of The Public Interest.

KNOWING MCCARTHY, HATING HIM

By Theron Westervelt

Eugene McCarthy: The Rise and Fall of Postwar American Liberalism
By Dominic Sandbrook
Alfred A. Knopf, 416 pages, $25.95



Eugene McCarthy's place in history is secure because of his 1968 Presidential campaign, which led Lyndon Johnson to abandon his own quest for another term. More than managing to oust a sitting President of his own party, McCarthy helped set in motion a tumultuous election year that has attained a prominent place in popular consciousness. Yet as Dominic Sandbrook, the young British scholar and McCarthy's latest biographer, understands it, to view McCarthy only by the light of 1968 is to fail to see completely both McCarthy and the era in which he was active.

McCarthy was elected to Congress in 1948 and served there until two years after he helped Johnson depart the White House—a political career as wide-ranging as the book's subtitle indicates. McCarthy entered the political arena in the early years of the postwar liberal consensus that would operate for a quarter century. Accordingly, his political career effectively ended with the collapse of that consensus and the development of a new conservative one, driven by unease over social, not economic, disorder.

By examining McCarthy, Sandbrook identifies and illustrates the elements on which the old, postwar consensus was founded. They include not only the strong anti-communism, which was the province of both the Left and Right from the late 1940s to the mid '60s, but also the domestic principles of the Fair Deal, which were meant to build on the foundations of the New Deal.

As Sandbrook rightly points out, these principles were limited in their aims, seeking nothing like the social democracy that would gain ground in Europe. But in a country as economically robust as the U.S., the successful establishment of the ethos of the Fair Deal, which was based on the idea of activist governmental leadership, reflected the persistent grasp of the Great Depression on popular consciousness.

Eugene McCarthy was a part of the liberal leadership operating under the banner of anti-communism and government activism, but by the time Johnson assumed office, this leadership had unraveled. McCarthy represented only one part of that unraveling; it was a process that expanded across the political spectrum as more and more citizens abandoned the beliefs which underpinned the consensus. For McCarthy the crucial element was Johnson's prosecution of the Vietnam War. He was only one among a number of notable liberal political leaders who moved from a strong and straightforwardly anti-communist position to a more nuanced view under the pressures of the war. Yet he is as good an example as any of his peers, and to watch the development of his views, both from 1948 to 1968, and more specifically over the course of the late '60s, provides a useful insight into how the war in Vietnam helped corrode the basic tenets of American politics.

The last chapters illustrate the confusion and sense of forlornness that afflicted this particular politician after the postwar liberal consensus he had known all his political life came undone. McCarthy's career illuminates postwar American politics brightly, and Dominic Sandbrook has done a good job presenting this political era.

Sandbrook, unfortunately, was not so successful at uncovering McCarthy himself. McCarthy's moment in the spotlight in 1968 has naturally led to a one-dimensional image of the man—the kind of myopia a full-length biography should aim to correct. But Sandbrook seems to have decided that McCarthy was driven almost entirely by his faults, most prominently pride, ambition, and arrogance. All of McCarthy's actions are presented through this narrow prism. McCarthy was undoubtedly a man with many faults and they may be as bad as Sandbrook suggests. But it seems unlikely that McCarthy the man was quite so bad as the near-caricature depicted in the book. The fact that Sandbrook's sources are almost uniformly hostile to McCarthy does not mean that his account is wrong; it does mean it is incomplete.

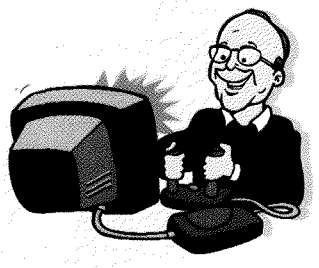
But as long as the reader accepts the limited image of Eugene McCarthy Sandbrook has created, there is much to recommend this work as an examination of American postwar politics.

Theron Westervelt is a writer and historian in Arlington, Virginia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Edited by Eli Lehrer

the Digest



Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications

POLITICS

Atari Democrat

John Kerry, "Technology Plan to Create Jobs and Empower Americans to Lead in the 21st Century," John Kerry for President (johnkerry.com)

During his 1992 Presidential campaign, Bill Clinton gained the support of technology leaders with promises to make investments in information infrastructure, enhance education, and improve the nation's technological competitiveness. Democratic nominee John Kerry has a similar plan.

Kerry's plan covers a range of issues, including some that bear only a tangential relationship to technology. In his plan for "Expanded Government Support for Private Sector Research and Development," Kerry proposes doubling the budget of the Advanced Technologies Program, which provides subsidies to private business to pursue high-risk, high-reward ventures. The Kerry plan for "Subsidies and Regulations for Broadband and Wi-Fi" aims to improve communications infrastructure by re-allocating the radio spectrum to make it easier to use Wi-Fi (wireless fidelity) devices, and by offering a new tax credit to utilities that roll out broadband Internet access in rural areas. Since many jobs in publishing, movies, and music depend on copyrights, Kerry's "Stronger Copyright Protections" plan proposes to strengthen copyright enforcement by signing new international agreements to protect intellectual property, and by cracking down on "countries that are manipulating trade laws or manipulating currency." To help biotech companies, Kerry would "encourage stem cell research" by reversing the Bush administration's restrictions on human embryonic stem cell research.

ECONOMICS AND REGULATION

Tax Troubles Ahead

William Gale and Brennan Kelly, "The 'No New Taxes' Pledge," Brookings Institution and Tax Policy Center, June 4, 2004 (brookings.org)

As of the middle of 2004, 258 members of Congress (slightly less than a majority) and President Bush had signed a "Taxpayer Protection Pledge" proffered by Grover Norquist and Americans for Tax Reform. The pledge requires signers to oppose all income tax increases and cuts in deductions that are not offset by declines in marginal tax rates. In the House, clear majorities of the tax-writing committees have signed the pledge. Senate committees are only one or two votes shy of a majority. The pledge, Brookings scholar William Gale and research assistant Brennan Kelly contend, adapts a "'starve the beast' approach to controlling federal finances—attempting to cut off revenue increases as a way of forcing reductions in spending."

Gale and Kelly argue the pledge is not fiscally responsible. First, they say there is no evidence that "starve the beast" policies work: Since 1980, expenditures have increased when revenues have fallen. Second, "budget rules and legislative agreements have proven effective in reducing spending and balancing the budget only when restrictions are placed on both tax cuts and spending increases at the same time." The pledge does not restrict spending increases. Finally, they contend pledge-signers have been fiscally irresponsible.

According to Gale and Kelly's calculations, the current tax-cut-and-spend policy could result in fiscal disaster. If President Bush's tax cuts and the new spending are maintained until 2014, balancing the budget would require overall spending cuts of close to 70 percent. "All of these findings suggest that the no new taxes pledge and its signers are a significant part of the fiscal problem, not the vanguard of a realistic solution."

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Why College Costs So Much

Richard Vedder, *Going Broke by Degree*, AEI Press, June 2004 (aei.org)

For years, college costs have risen seemingly without end. Despite large

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

increases in government aid to colleges, many families find the bills harder to pay each year. In this new study, Richard Vedder, a professor at the University of Ohio, places the blame for this situation squarely on the colleges themselves.

Falling productivity ranks first among the problems Vedder identifies. While automation and training have improved productivity in many industries, productivity has actually fallen in higher education over a generation. Because governments and private donors pay most of the cost of higher education, the incentives for fiscal restraint are nearly non-existent. The fact that most decision-makers at universities have tenure and cannot be fired makes guardians of the status quo very powerful. Universities, in addition, are spending more on research, physical plant, and athletic programs. While these things once subsidized undergraduate education, tuition now covers their cost overruns.

Many things that seem like they would minimize tuition increases do not. Greater state support for higher education, for example, doesn't typically translate into lower tuition, since research, athletics, and other programs eat up the money. Many universities, however, have become highly efficient price discriminators: They charge affluent families high sticker prices while giving the majority of students significant financial aid. This mitigates tuition increases for some, but still results in a cycle of rising tuition. Even more surprisingly, despite the demonstrated economic benefits of education for individuals, states that spend more on education have little to show for it: "The more state governments support higher education, the lower the rate of economic growth in the state," Vedder finds. He hypothesizes this has to do with the declining marginal utility of money spent on education: While the first $100 million may improve a state's educational situation tremendously, additional funds may do significantly less or even harm an educational environment.

Vedder also finds that universities create few if any positive externalities: States with many universities do worse by most measures than states with few.

Vedder offers two solutions. First, for-profit universities are more productive than their subsidized counterparts, educate students better by some measures, and cost less. Vedder also suggests providing college aid (in the form of vouchers) to individual students rather than institutions: Students from low-income families could get generous loans that would be forgiven if they earned a degree but would have to be repaid if they dropped out. As families became wealthier, such aid would be phased out. Only radical steps will keep college costs from soaring.

NATIONAL SECURITY

A New Look at National Security

Thomas Donnelly, "Mind the Gap," *AEI National Security Outlook*, June 2004 (aei.org)

The gap between America's military objectives and its ability to carry out those objectives is large and growing, according to AEI fellow Thomas Donnelly. In particular, Donnelly contends that American troops throughout the world are currently involved in long-term, low-level counterinsurgency missions beyond what they are capable of accomplishing. "Without significant institutional reform," Donnelly writes, "this is a struggle the United States is capable of losing."

The next administration should modify current policy, Donnelly argues, while adopting a strategy that will allow the United States to "preserve, protect, and expand the remarkably peaceful and liberal international order."

One of the most important tasks for the President during the next term, Donnelly writes, will be overseeing the upcoming Quadrennial Defense Review. Previous reports on U.S. military capacity have been filtered through the "narrow lens of nuclear nonproliferation," without giving ample consideration to the way in which American interests abroad should factor into national security strategy.

Donnelly argues that in the post-Cold War, post-September 11, post-Saddam era U.S. foreign policy must address how to carry out "manpower-intensive missions, patrolling and expanding the American security perimeter," rather than simply creating a more efficient "firepower machine." U.S. foreign policy has long been designed to ensure swift and decisive defeat of the enemy. In the war on terror, the U.S. will increasingly undertake counterinsurgency operations, the outcomes of which are often neither decisive nor swift.

To achieve victory in a new kind of conflict, Donnelly concludes that the gap between military objectives and capabilities must be closed by clearly identifying national security risks and expanding the size of the force to fight the battle. Only by doing so, he says, will America be able to bring to pass President Bush's "bold new vision of the world the United States should help build; one can only describe it as a quintessentially American strategy, appealing to the fundamental human desire for freedom."

—Nancy Kennedy

A Homeland Mess

Eli Lehrer, "The Homeland Security Bureaucracy," *The Public Interest*, Summer 2004 (thepublicinterest.com)

In a preliminary assessment, *TAE* associate editor Eli Lehrer finds that the Department of Homeland Security's agencies remain "too limited in scope, too committed to their legacy missions, and too unlikely to change" to have a major effect on homeland security.

Lehrer divides homeland security into three tasks: access control (tasks

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such as border guard duty and airport baggage inspection), law enforcement, and disaster mitigation. The new department faces serious limitations carrying out these tasks.

Lehrer writes that only about 15 percent of U.S. law enforcement officers work for the federal government, and that only about half of those work for the Department of Homeland Security. The department cannot perform more than a small percentage of the law enforcement tasks by itself and has no control over the way most American law enforcement operates. Even access control duties—where the federal government has near-total jurisdiction over airports and border security—have "a much more federalist tinge than many assume": The federal government has little or no jurisdiction over dozens of high-profile sites, from New York's City Hall to Chicago's Sears Tower. Disaster mitigation exists in a similarly federalist framework.

The bureaus that comprise the Department of Homeland Security show few signs of changing significantly. Some, such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency, perform their legacy duties reasonably well, but have little interest in new duties. Others, like the new Transportation Security Administration, are still establishing missions. And a few, like the Federal Protective Service (which administers security guard contracts), have begun to take baby steps toward performing their duties in the broader context the department's creators envisioned.

Overall, Lehrer contends that the various agencies within the Department of Homeland Security have made little progress towards defining their responsibilities and roles, and that the history of American bureaucratic reform suggests that the department's creation alone will have little consequence. "The department," he concludes, "still has much to do in its quest to make America safer."

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

A Missing Particle

"D0" Collaboration, "A Precision Measurement of the Mass of the Top Quark," *Nature*, June 10, 2004 (nature.com)

Since the 1960s, physicists have followed the "standard model" of particle physics, in which the smallest units of matter are a family of tiny particles called quarks and even smaller particles called leptons. Since the top quark (the last of the four predicted) was found in 1995, only one piece has remained in the puzzle of the universe's matter: an elusive lepton called the Higgs Boson.

This particle would drag down the other particles, endowing them with mass. The current theory cannot prove where objects' mass comes from, leaving a gaping hole in our understanding of the physical world.

A $1.4 billion effort at the European research center CERN ended in 2001 without finding the Higgs Boson. The "D0" collaboration (pronounced dee-zero), a group of more than one hundred scientists working through Fermilab outside Chicago, however, may have found the answer: The particle is much larger than those the CERN experiment looked at.

The "D0" collaboration scientists measured the mass of the top quark—which almost never exists outside stars and special high energy devices—and used it to derive an estimated mass of the Higgs Boson. Previous efforts to estimate the mysterious particle's mass have relied on the same method but have averaged all calculations involved. The "D0" collaboration's method involved looking only at the measurements with the smallest margin of error. The result was a much larger estimate, nearly at the limit of what existing colliders can handle. Finding the Higgs Boson and completing our understanding of the fundamentals of particle physics may take even more powerful machines.

OTHER COUNTRIES

China's Hard Landing

John Makin, "The Unplannable Planned Economy," *AEI Economic Outlook*, June 2004 (aei.org)

China, AEI scholar John Makin contends, "has become too dynamic to operate as a planned economy.... But it hasn't even seriously begun a transition that, it must be said, ultimately may or may not occur, to a market economy."

Makin believes China is in the midst of an over-investment cycle similar to the one Japan experienced during the 1980s and 1990s. High saving rates mean industry and government are spending money on productive capacity that cannot be used profitably in the near future. While China's industrial sector has many hallmarks of a developed market economy, its financial system, Makin finds, lags seriously behind. Its central bank (still designed to operate in a planned economy), rising numbers of bad loans, and unsustainably high levels of investment in physical infrastructure also contribute. The nation's currency faces serious risks: It is currently pegged to the dollar, which, combined with significant capital inflows, has resulted in rising inflation even though the economy is under capacity in some sectors. Makin suggests a new policy, perhaps based on Singapore, which pegs its currency to a basket of other currencies.

Still, "China's creaky financial system, coupled with its wild-west style economy, seems destined for an economic hard landing this year," Makin predicts. The nation's politburo has already reined in the credit supply, and interest rates are rising. Without structural reform, Makin fears, China may fall victim to the "instability inherent in the combination of a volatile economy and an inflexible financial system."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

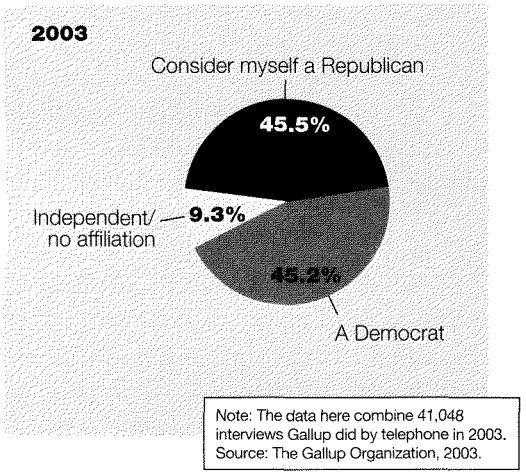
Opinion Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman

A Closely Divided Electorate

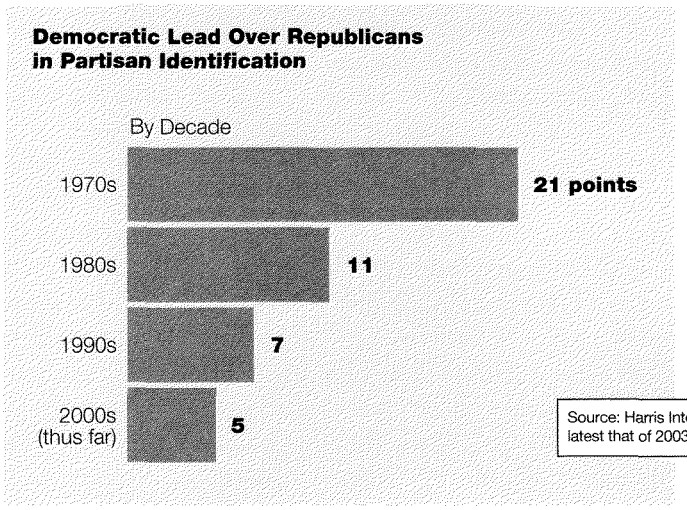
When the Gallup Organization combined more than 40,000 interviews conducted in 2003, the pollsters found the country equally divided between Republicans and Democrats, 45.5 to 45.2 percent. Harris Interactive's decade-by-decade analysis of party identification shows an enormous change in the country on this dimension. In Harris's data, the Democrats had a 21 percentage point lead over the Republicans in party identification in the 1970s. In the 1980s, it had dropped to 11 points, and in the 1990s, 7 points. Interestingly, ideological identification hasn't changed since the '70s. About a third of Americans consider themselves conservatives, 18 percent liberals, and 40 percent, moderates.

Question: In politics, as of today, do you...?



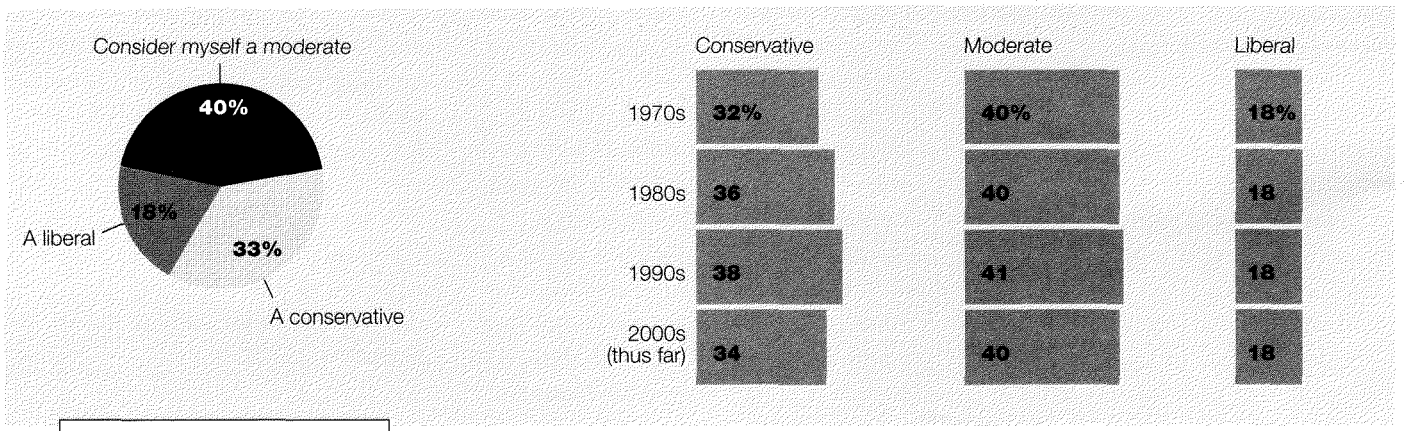
Note: The data here combine 41,048 interviews Gallup did by telephone in 2003.
Source: The Gallup Organization, 2003.

Question: Regardless of how you may vote, what do you usually consider yourself...?



Source: Harris Interactive, latest that of 2003.

Question: How would you describe your political philosophy?



Source: Harris Interactive, latest that of 2003.

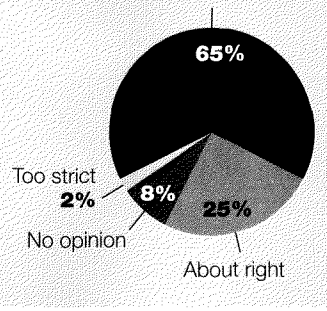
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Education: The Discipline Problem

Discipline in the schools has been a concern since the pollsters started asking about it more than half a century ago. Today, however, the problem is different. Fifty-two percent of teachers say their school has an armed guard. Seventy-eight percent of them say that students remind them that they have rights and could sue if challenged by a teacher. Parents and teachers say that private schools do a better job on discipline because they have stricter rules. Both groups believe the problem begins at home, but they also blame a pervasive lack of respect in the culture. The remedy? Establishing zero-tolerance policies and finding ways to hold parents accountable.

Question: Do you think...?

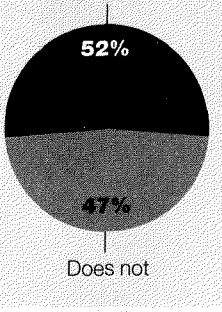
1954
Discipline in most schools today is not strict enough



Source: The Gallup Organization, 1954.

Question: Does your school...?

Teachers' response
Have an armed police officer stationed on school grounds



Source: Public Agenda, March-April 2004.

Question: Do you...?

	Teachers' response
Agree strongly that today's students are all too quick to remind you that they have rights or that their parents can sue	39%
Agree somewhat	39

Source: Public Agenda, March-April 2004.

Question: In your community...?

	Parents' response	Teachers' response
Local private schools do a better job when it comes to student discipline and behavior	39%	41%
Local public schools do	29	25

Note: When those who answered "private schools" were asked why they thought private schools did a better job, 55 percent of the parents and 69 percent of the teachers said private schools had stricter rules.

Question: How important is each of the following?

Biggest cause of student discipline and behavior problems in the nation's schools

	Parents' response	Teachers' response
Too many parents fail to teach their kids discipline	46%	60%
There's disrespect everywhere in our culture—students absorb it and bring it to school	43	47

Note: Responses shown here are point 5 on a five-point scale. Top two responses are shown.

Source: Public Agenda, March-April 2004.

Question: Please indicate how effective....

	Parents' response	Teachers' response
Establishing and enforcing zero-tolerance policies so that students know they will automatically be kicked out of school for serious violations would be very effective as a solution to the discipline and behavior problems found in the nation's public schools	68%	70%
Finding ways to hold parents more accountable would be very effective	63	69

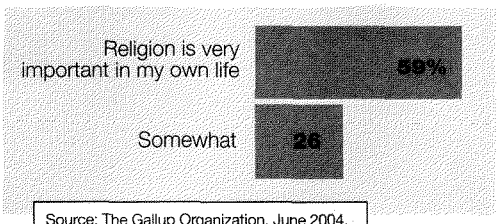
Note: Parents were asked whether these things were good or bad ideas. Top two "very good" responses shown.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religion and Politics

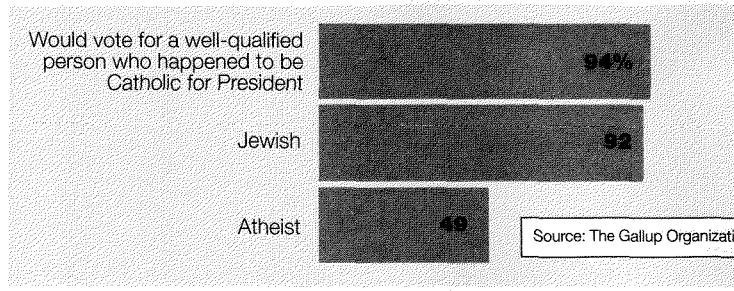
Sixty percent of Americans say that religion is very important in their lives. Less than half would vote for a qualified atheist for President. Forty-seven percent describe George W. Bush as a man of strong religious faith. Seven percent give that response about John Kerry. Today, a person's level of religious activism is an important predictor of voting behavior. Those who actively practice their faith are more likely to be Republican than those who do not. They may also have more in common politically with activists of other denominations than with members of their own denomination who do not actively profess their faith.

Question: How important...?



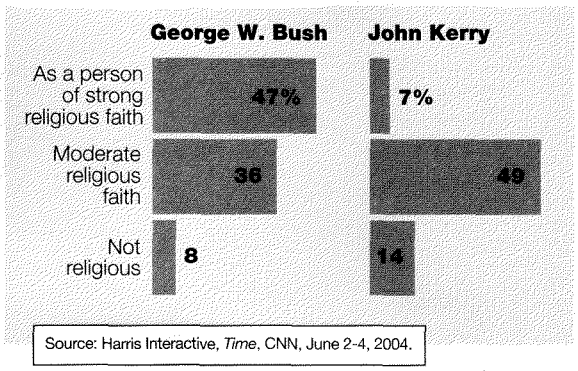
Source: The Gallup Organization, June 2004.

Question: If your party nominated...?



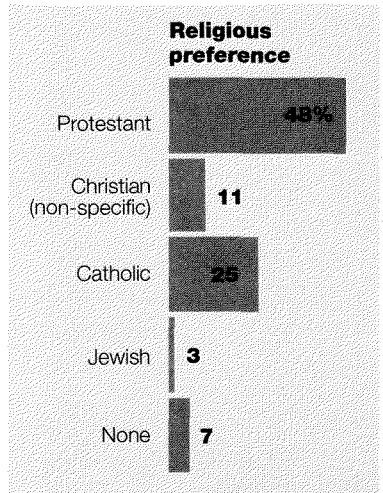
Source: The Gallup Organization, 1999.

Question: Would you describe...?



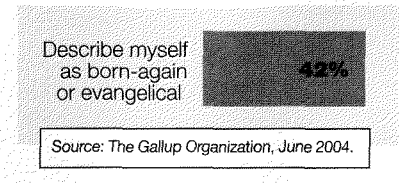
Source: Harris Interactive, *Time*, CNN, June 2-4, 2004.

Question: What is your...?



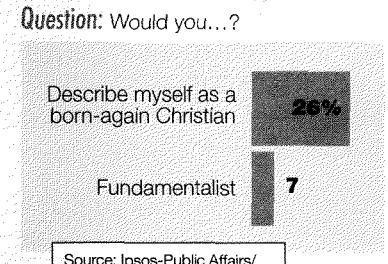
Source: The Gallup Organization, June 2004.

Question: Would you...?



Source: The Gallup Organization, June 2004.

Question: Would you...?



Source: Ipsos-Public Affairs/ Associated Press, June 2004.

Vote for the Republican Presidential Candidate

	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000
Catholics	44%	50%	54%	52%	35%	37%	47%
Protestants*	58	63	72	66	47	53	63
Jews	34	39	31	35	11	16	19

Note: * = white Protestants.
Source: National Election Day exit polls.

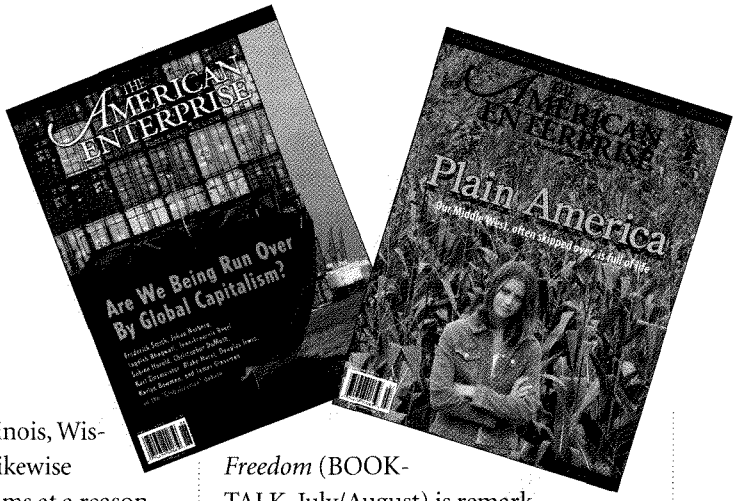
Vote for George W. Bush in 2000

	White mainline Protestants	White Catholics
Traditionalists	75%	75%
Centrists	60	53
Modernists	48	30

" 'Traditionalists' are defined as those who profess orthodox religious beliefs, exhibit high levels of public and private religious behavior, and identify with sectarian movements... 'Modernists' hold more heterodox beliefs, exhibit modest levels of religious practice, and identify with church-like movements... Naturally 'centrists' fall between the other two..." [*First Things*, October–November 2001.]
Source: Survey of Religion and Politics, University of Akron for the Ethics and Public Policy Center, sponsored by the Pew Charitable Trusts, 2000.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Mail



What a great piece by Howard Blake about the Evil Rich Business People ("Confessions of a 'Rich' Businessman," July/August). As one of the ERBP myself, I appreciated hearing the same story from others of my kind. I was reviewing finances for the last six months trying to figure out where all of the money had gone when I decided to take a break and read Mr. Blake's article. My business has been growing as well, and we have seen the same kinds of problems.

Mr. Blake's summary is exactly what I think about when I hear the Democrats spew forth about taxing the rich or how we don't pay our fair share. It's a shame more Americans don't get the true story.

Steve Dye
Altoona, Wisconsin

As a transplanted Easterner I can testify that the Midwest has many great areas for raising a family ("Plain America," July/August).

Our children were never afraid to go to school, and we never worried that they would be mugged in the bathroom, beaten up in the schoolyard, or robbed of their lunch money. The school administrators, backed by parents and the school board, would never permit such behavior, and the children knew it.

As for higher education, the Midwest also has fine institutions of higher learning, including low-cost state universities. Our son's engineering education at Purdue was as good as any he would find in an elite Eastern university. Indiana University has great programs in areas such as music and business. Other state universities in Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota likewise have outstanding programs at a reasonable cost.

Frances Brown
Newburgh, Indiana

The seemingly exceptional quality of information and the superb writing talents of your authors and contributors first attracted me to your magazine, but when you let weird comments about the Mormon Church slip by, I begin to feel a bit uneasy.

James Lileks ("A Rich Boyhood in the Plain Void," July/August) writes, "On their left flank were Mormons, and that was a wild card. They didn't watch TV, which was scary weird. They went to church on Saturdays, which was just wrong." He may have intended this to be humorous, but it tends to reinforce weird opinions about Mormons held by many supposedly well-informed people.

In fact, it was a Mormon, Philo Farnsworth, whose inventions made television possible. Brigham Young University TV, operated by the Mormon Church, broadcasts throughout the country on satellite and cable what may be the most comprehensive program mix of any university TV station.

Another correction: Sunday, not Saturday, is the primary day Mormons go to church.

Joseph Hamilton
Las Vegas, Nevada

Randy Boyagoda's review of Lord Black's *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (BOOKTALK, July/August) is remarkably fair, but it should have shown the author's failure to stress adequately the President's inept, cavalier treatment of the Soviets near the end of the war.

FDR's biggest error was his confusing and equating Churchill's warnings about Stalin's potential hegemony, which became tragic fact, with his natural desire to restore and protect the remnants of Britain's economic stability (so-called "Imperialism"). To our half-century of regret, and at the cost of millions of lives, FDR favored "good old Joe" Stalin, who walked away with a vastly increased Soviet empire—resulting in the Cold War.

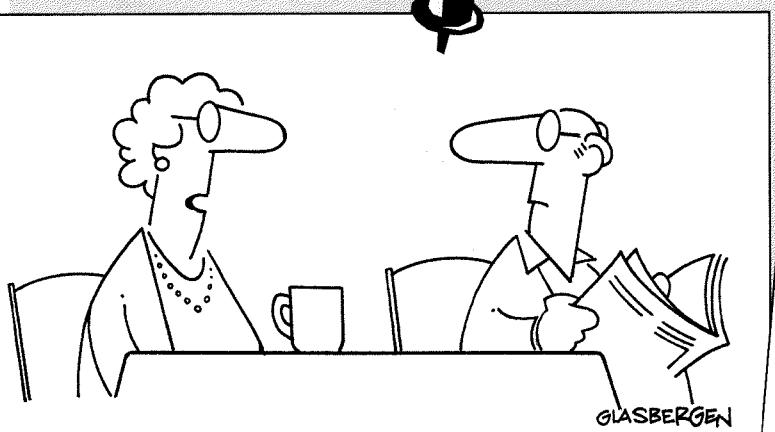
With advanced congestive heart failure and cerebral ischemia, FDR could no longer concentrate consistently and think with maximum clarity regarding the vast complexities of the summit negotiations. In such a condition it was not unusual that he would fall back on his long-term, innate sympathies, and the advice of Alger Hiss—toward collectivist, statist ideology—and give the approving nod of misplaced trust to Josef Stalin.

If any one leader "saved Western Civilization," it was surely Winston Churchill who, in the awful and hideous years of 1940 and '41, stood steadfast against the peace-at-any-price diplomats among his own countrymen to begin the crushing downfall of Adolf Hitler.

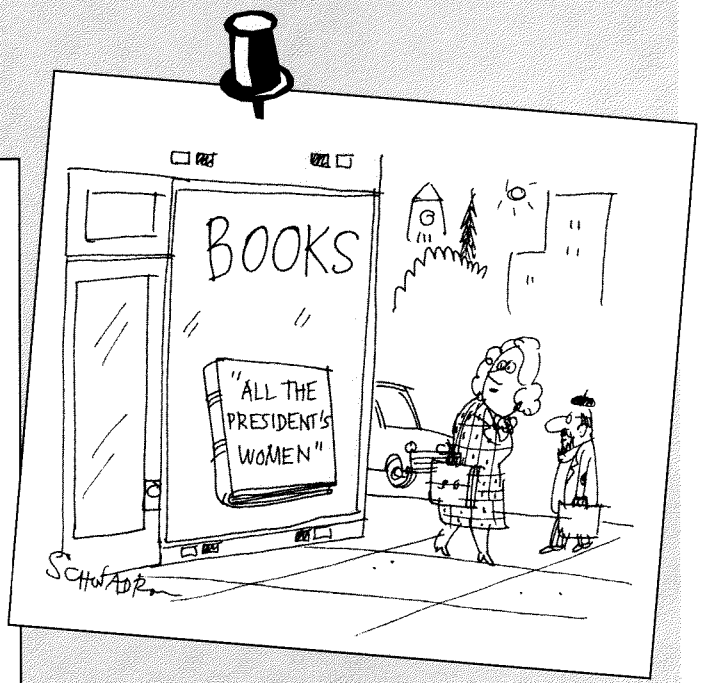
C. D. Marlow
Macon, Georgia

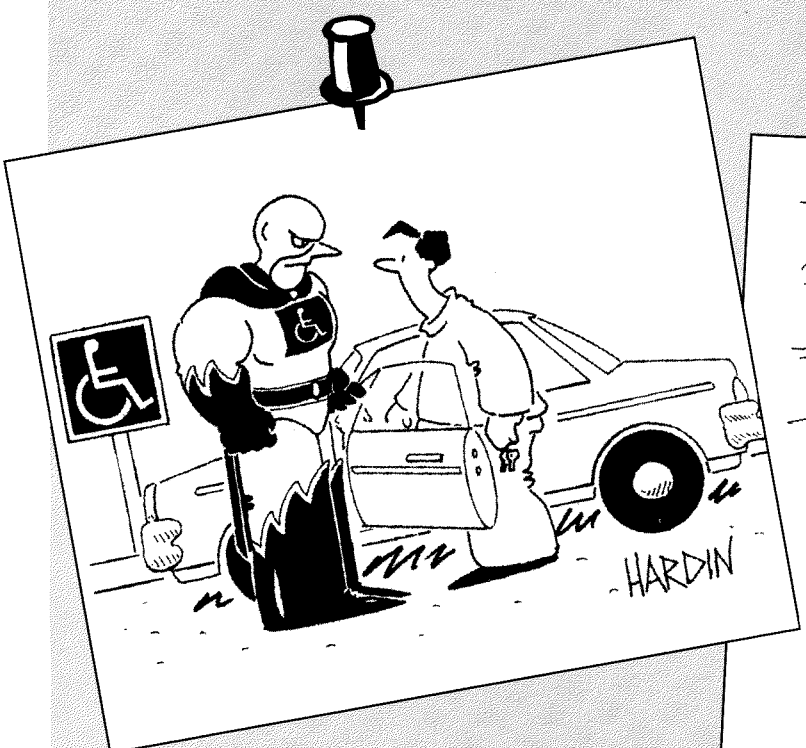
The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send e-mail to TAE@aei.org. Or write "The Mail," *The American Enterprise*, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax (202) 862-5867. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"When you say I mean the world to you, which part of the world are you talking about?"



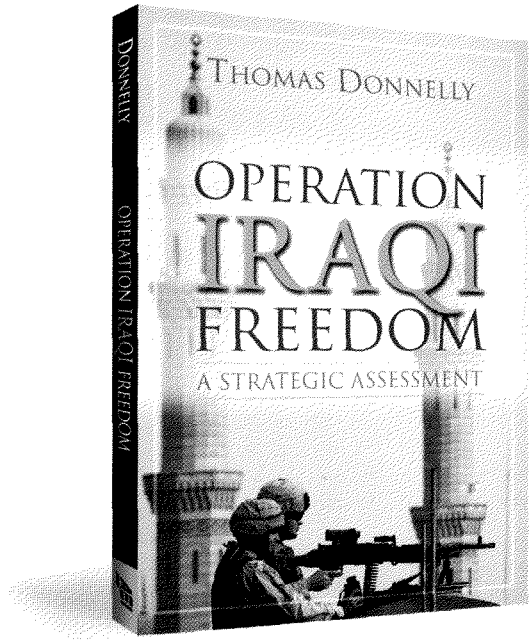


"You *promised* your mother you'd be a mogul by now."

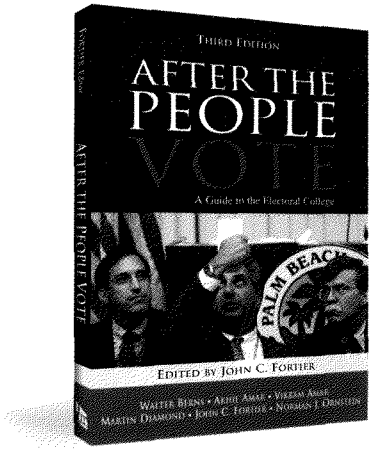
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why is it that the U.S. military—which won so quickly and decisively in Iraq last spring—has run into so much trouble since then? **Thomas Donnelly** explains where we went wrong and what we can do about it now.

Find out more in:



Available now



"It is time once more to untangle how the electoral college works, and when it hasn't in the past. Fortunately the third edition of *After the People Vote* is available to help. **John C. Fortier** has preserved the best of previous editions, with updates, and added treatment of the disputed 2000 election, as well as including new essays defending and criticizing how we elect presidents. Timely advice: keep this book handy on election day!" —Charles O. Jones, Hawkins Professor of Political Science Emeritus, University of Wisconsin

Available in September

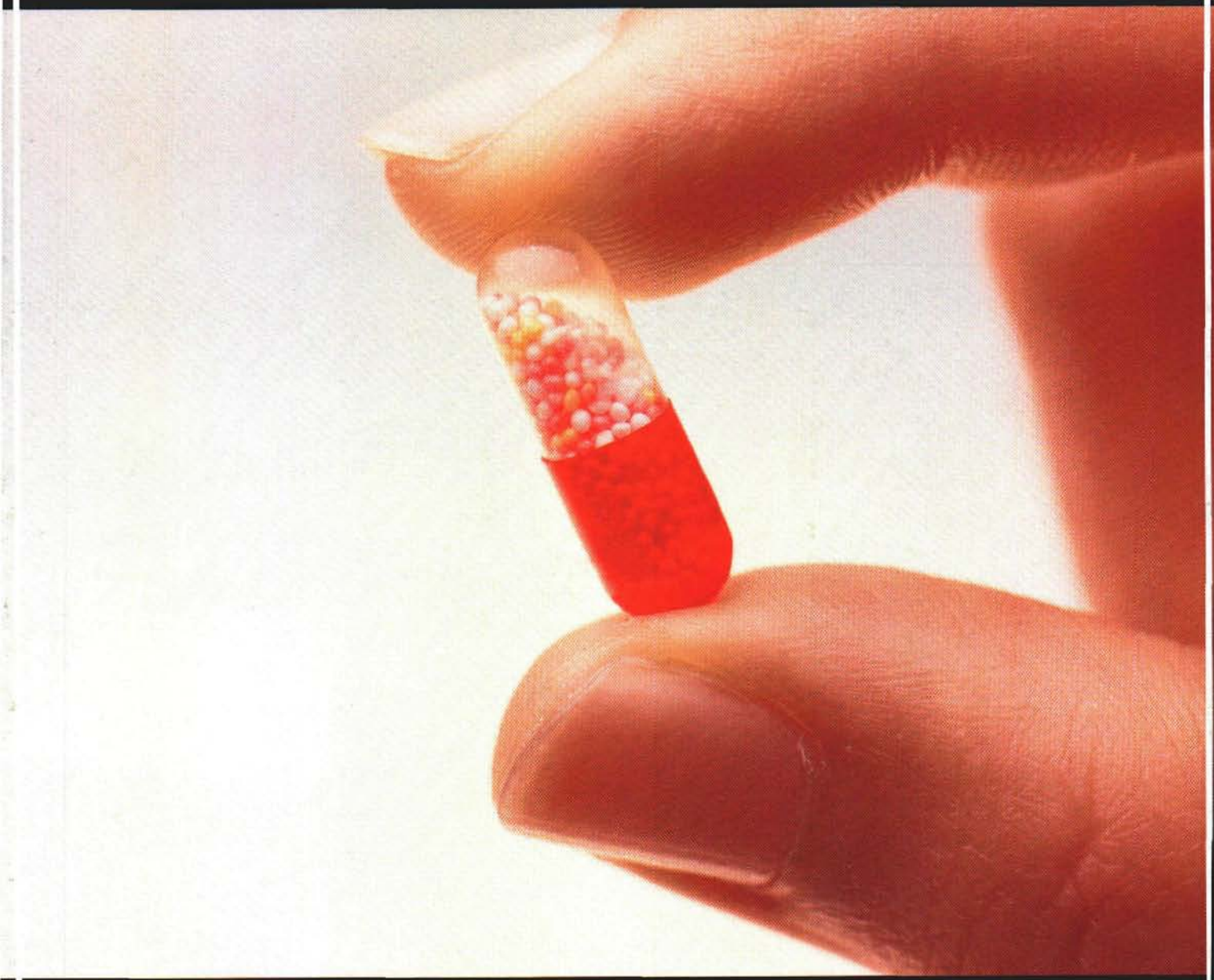
AEI PRESS *publisher for the American Enterprise Institute*

Buy these books and more online at www.aei.org

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research • 1150 Seventeenth Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 • 202.862.5800

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Less than 10% of the health care cost and nearly all of the miracles.



Research-based pharmaceuticals are the best value in health care. For less than a dime on every health care dollar spent, they help people live longer, healthier, more productive lives. • Numerous studies report that using newer medicines can prevent lengthy and expensive hospital stays for conditions such as HIV/AIDS, asthma, cancers, heart disease, stroke, Alzheimer's disease and diabetes among many others. And we are developing even more for the future. • For more information on the value of the medicines we discover, visit our website.

PhRMA

Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America

www.phrma.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED